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MACLEAN'S

FEB.
9th
2009

SPECIAL BUDGET REPORT

THE END OF CANADIAN CONSERVATISM

HOW HARPER SOLD OUT TO SAVE HIMSELF **by ANDREW COYNE** P.20



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**UGH.
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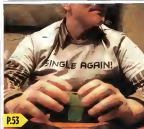
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WHEN THE GIRLS of Dallas Academy lost 100-0, it offended our natural sense of fair play

How rules and respect create sportsmanship

Over sportsmanship can be difficult to define. But most people seem to know it when they see it.

Consider the now infamous case of the high school girls' basketball game in Texas. In January, the victory squad from the Covenant School, a Christian high school in Dallas, posted a 100-0 victory over cross-town rival Dallas Academy. The size of the score—it was 59-0 at the half and Covenant didn't let up until midway through the fourth quarter—turned the game into a cautionary tale of poor sportsmanship.

Covenant's head of school letterpolioed for the national victory and requested that his school receive a charter for the game. "This clearly does not represent a Christ-like and honorable approach to competition," Kyle Quaid said on the school's website, reacting to widespread coverage of the game. "When Texas coach Rick Groves, who pointed out his team had not been beaten for four years ago, refused to apologize for committing the score, he was fired."

The widespread outrage over Covenant's Dallas Academy win clearly led to a public acknowledgment of the most tenet principles of sportsmanship. Most people believe that sports should embody qualities that appear to something higher than whatever is permitted by the rule book. Coaches may be

hired to win but, as the late coach Grimes once said, winning is not the only thing.

Ideally this same spirit of sportsmanship should run through professional sports as well. But not always. Sometimes the culture of the game has become perverted to the point that the participants and the fans can no longer recognize these higher ideals. And, as is obvious in Charlie Gilie's investigation into lightning in the NHL ("Can we now please ban fighting in hockey?" page 48), when public outrage is no longer an effective



Sanderson's death arose from a culture that still accepts fighting

reaction to inappropriate behavior, a cultural change becomes necessary.

The death of Curtiso Sanderson, a junior hockey player, Donald Sanderson on Jan. 2 at the age of 19 in his first fight has sparked a broad debate across Canada on fighting in hockey. But the discussion should really be about how any possible definition of sportsmanship should include preventing your opponent from becoming a victim. If a 100-0 basketball victory

offends the ideals of sporting competition, why is fighting still permitted by the NHL?

The NHL can claim a wide variety of rules meant to decrease fatalities. There are rules on icing, tripping, fighting without a proxy, debating while wearing a mask, fighting in the last five minutes of a game, fighting during the playoffs, fighting twice in the same game, fighting off the ice, fighting, otherwise else's fight and bench-clearing fights.

And yet these rules have had little effect on the actual number of fights. In fact, fights have been growing even as the rules against them multiply from a recent law of 456 in the 2003-2004 season to a projected 789 bouts this year. The reason is that despite all the rules, the NHL still considers fighting as a necessary and essential part of the game. It remains part of the culture.

This acceptance of on-ice mayhem is doubly bizarre given the aggressive manner with which the league has cracked down on a wide variety of other offenses against good sportsmanship. In December, Dallas Stars forward Steve Avery was suspended for six games for saying unacceptable things about his on-ice friends. Last year, Philadelphia Flyer rookie Steve Downie was suspended for 30 games after leveling an opponent with a flying elbow. In the way blows to the head from an elbow are hardly dealt with. But blows from a fist are considered part of the game—so long as you keep your jersey on. And you don't say anything nasty. It's sheer hypocrisy to permit hockey players to punch one another with abandon, and then slap it off as an integral part of the hockey experience.

Some critics of fighting have applauded the Ontario Hockey League's new rule, unveiled after Sanderson's death, that requires fighters to keep their helmets on during fights. The

prospect of punching someone rather than fists and heads should make fighting less appealing. Stray will lead to less pugilism in the junior league. But as with all the other existing rules on fighting, this change will still permit the activity if certain criteria are met. And it ignores the question of sportsmanship. Countless other leagues in Canada and abroad managed to

end the game of fighting completely through rules that clearly forbid the practice.

Fighting in the NHL is an embarrassing and barbarous anachronism. It's time for the league to suspend every player for every fight, as is the case with every other major team sport. Advancing rulebook fighting over or slightly less frequent is not the solution. Hockey needs a fundamental cultural shift. You'll know it when you see it. ■

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'Your punchline was brilliant: Conrad Black should be pardoned because it is just'

STIMULATING OPINION

ANDREW COYNE'S SUPPORT on deficit spending (see "Social stimulus" as more preferable) is required reading at all M.B.A. schools ("Can we really spend our way out of this mess?" *Maclean's*, Jan. 26). Of course it should also be read by all of our politicians, but they're not interested in economics—they only want to "stimulate" votes. *Al Rago, Calgary*

COYNE TOUCHES ON many salient points, but misses the obvious personal gain. Prior to retirement at the end of 2000, I lived in the United States for 13 years, and owned property there. Because of the U.S. income tax structure, I was encouraged never to pay off my mortgage, but rather to consider it my revolving line of credit. When to take a three-month, worldwide travel credit? Refinance your house. When to pay for a child's university education or pony partying to invest in a career loss track up? Refinance your house. I now reside in almost weekly rented nice rental properties in order to save drama expenditures, because from my own point of view was a deduction on my U.S. income tax return. The U.S. income tax philosophy—combined with basic individual greed—is the basis for most of the financial crises we see today. *Dr. David Goldstein, Chatham, Ont.*

COYNE IS UNCHARACTERISTICALLY focused on economics. He and monetary policy and fiscal policy is clearly well defined, independent tools of economic membership. But the dichotomy is almost meaningless in our current circumstances, whether these huge amounts of new money are being borrowed, printed, or noted via increased taxes. When the amount involved equals magnitudes of the cost using money supply, it matters not whether it's monetary or fiscal stimulus. There are two questions raised by the use of this level of stimulus, one of which Coyne did pose: can therapeutic injection of liquidity be "knocked up" by the central banks and treasuries onto the credit or into a leading indicator? If not, serious uncontrollable inflation will result. The second question can current monetary and currency arrangements survive, given what his response? If the answer is no, then a devaluation of the U.S. dollar to unimaginable levels is a very real possibility. *Eugene Siklas, Toronto*

ANDREW COYNE'S 1991 paper by Christian Science Monitor on deficit spending proved ineffective following the Great Depression. "Punchy policy... contributed almost nothing to the recovery before 1932." But he neglects to mention the paper's explanation that this conclusion was "fundamentally due to the fact that the devastation of fiscal policy from normal was not lagging during the 1930s." In other words, deficit spending overextended life and recovery not because it was ineffective, but because it was not attempted on a significant scale. Indeed, all levels of American government combined



did not run an annual deficit of more than \$1.5 billion before 1942. *Eryn Wey, Richmond, United States/Albert, Toronto*

FISCAL STIMULUS in the form of increased capital projects are more efficient than using monetary stimulus, in particular when the income rates are already very low. When there is a depressed demand for loans in the economy, lowering interest rates is like pouring oil on the proverbial fire—as Japan found out as does ancient Iraq over more than two decades of stagnation. Printing money is a sure way to encourage future inflation and the ultimately higher interest rates needed to reduce demand. Then there is the "patience of debt" to consider if I owe my money, I am thrifty and wise, and give over my money to my neighbor. However, if all my neighbors do the same, there is not enough liquid

to capital to go around in the economy, and ultimately we will be worse off. Furthermore, when the government continues by building infrastructure, they are putting money into the pockets of the money workers, the men, who will spend most of it, and so will the people with whom he shares his wage. The economy is a whole will grow more than if the interest was lowered. *Seymour Resnik, Mississauga, Ont.*

IT IS CLEAR that Coyne would like us to think of them—finally—as an "old-fashioned conservatism." I must confess, though, that I only donated this article because "dull," "negative," and "doctrinaire" are the adjectives that best describe his words. *Peter Kagan, Victoria*

JUSTICE FOR SOME

MACLEAN'S IS QUITE A lively publication, and I especially enjoyed the piece by your harshest columnist, Steve March, who called for Conrad Black to be fired. The punchline was brilliant, that his lordship should have been pardoned by George Bush "just because he's rich, but because it's just." And the column by that other harshest, and Black's wife, last week's April ("Under the Madoff mushroom cloud in Palm Beach," *Opinion*, Jan. 19), which mentioned that the wealthy masters of Palm Beach are now so poor that they're selling hair macho dimples, evoked further guffaw. The fact that I received this issue on the very day that Bush left office gives me hope that there will still be cause for laughter in the "revelation of lies." *Mike Sadava, Edmonton*

JUSTICE FOR ALL

PEOPLE NEED LAWYERS to represent justice ("When lawyers are only for the rich," *Justice*, Jan. 19). Since the early 1990s, the Canadian Bar Association has been running government so that too many people who need legal help can't obtain it. To help advance access for middle-class Canadians, the CBA has also taken a lead role in the Action Committee on Access to Justice that is responding to the fact that justice is in crisis. Access to justice is not only about legal fees. It is a complex and challenging issue that involves multiple stakeholders, including the legal profession, government, the judiciary,

legal aid and numerous other players. Law gives those responsibility for access to justice and our association is playing a leading role in finding solutions. *J. Guy Joubert, President, Canadian Bar Association, Ottawa*



"WHY DON'T we hear about Jewish groups protesting Israel?"

NOBEL-ITY

HELEN SUDMAN never "received the Nobel Peace Prize for her work," as you state in your "Injustice" column (Jan. 19), although she was frequently nominated and most recently deserved it. The only South African woman of that award were Albert Luthuli, Nelson Mandela, FW de Klerk, and Desmond Tutu. *Rexa Thomas, Cape Town, South Africa*

THE PR WAR

YOUR ARTICLE BANS "Israel" have winning the PR war over Gaza ("Hearts and Minds," *World*, Jan. 19). According to whom? The Americans, maybe, and some public Canadian, perhaps. Absolutely nobody else. Personally, I find the horrendous Israeli killing frenzy disgusting and disgraceful—roughly 100 Palestinian casualties for each Israeli one, the deployment of white phosphorus bombs over dense civilian populations, the deliberate targeting of United Nations installations, and the slaughter of some 400 children. His reading has been learned from the criminal and heinous behaviour of rogue states in the past. *Ryan Doyle, Scarborough, Ont.*

RYAN OUT LOUD

THANK YOU for Andrew Potter's opinion piece on Bill Ryan, head of the Ontario wing of the Canadian Union of Public Employees ("Bill Ryan's foreign policy includes only Israel," *Opinion*, Jan. 26). As a former president of a CLPE local in Ontario and a Canadian of Jewish origin, I am embarrassed by the behaviour of Bill Ryan when it comes to

Israel. He's putting a shiny red ribbon on a long-standing and deeply rooted anti-Semitism that is not only a threat to CLPE members or the people of the Middle East. It is true that Ryan has resigned and allowed CLPE to choose a more worthy leader. *Paul Marcus, Ottawa*

IT APPEARS THAT Andrew Potter is upset that somebody is speaking out against Israeli crimes against 1.5 million people in Gaza. My suggestion is to Potter and Aboukhatib that you don't have enough journalistic integrity and honesty to speak out against Israeli crimes—there is less than three weeks have killed about 400 innocent Palestinian innocents in addition to many hundreds of other civilians—the real world's complaint about those who do. My other suggestion is that Mackach should check its own record to verify how many times it has accused Israel for decades of crimes against humanity. I am sure you will find many, if any at all. *Rosetta Fung, Jersey, Ont.*

THANK goodness Bill Ryan is speaking out. We need more people like him. How come we don't hear about the Jewish groups in Canada calling for boycotting Israeli products? How come we don't hear of the Jewish people in Israel who protested their illegal war? Even CNN changed its reporting once it started checking its facts. *Zoeva Leash, Friesen, Minn.*

GIVING IN GOOD FAITH

IT WAS a leap of logic for Shereen Shaw to interpret the comment "there are no atheists in footballs" as denigrating to non-religious people (*Letters*, Jan. 16). The comment was targeted to the people who are in direct financial contact with soldiers in a football, that they might have a life-changing experience and realize the apparent changes in life. Perhaps the energy Shaw expends in her ranty and bigoted overreaction would be better spent on complementing the significant contributions by all organizations that were listed in the article ("Will the mission save Christmas?" *Society*, Jan. 19). *Cheryl Kerkow, Maple Ridge, B.C.*

ROBERTA SHAW finds it sad that the Christian Science is so full of messages about charitable giving to Christian organizations. We would be much poorer country—and world—

without organizations such as World Vision, the Salvation Army, Habitat for Humanity and dozens more, not to mention the numerous organizations that are based on the Jewish, Islamic or Buddhist faiths, yet are not concerned with evangelizing or "conversionism" those that they come in contact with. One does not need to be of a particular faith—including faith that there is no god—to be humanitarian. It does no good service, however, to state officers of Christianity's charitable nature during one of the most sacred times of your *Break Page, Winnipeg*

DENTISTS CARE

THE CANADIAN DENTAL ASSOCIATION would like to express its disappointment with your article on dentistry ("Open wide," *Health*, Jan. 26). First and foremost, we have a very

MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS COMPILED BY MARGARETHA	
Fiction	
1 THROUGH BLACK ICEBERG	1,024
2 A HENRY by Robert Bly	288
3 THE DEER by John McManus	288
4 THE GEM OF SPECIES	4,201
5 THE HOUSE FIRST BELIEVED	6,121
6 THE GALLERY LITERARY AND POSTAGE FREE SOCIETY	9,121
7 THE GUN WITH THE DRAGON TATTOO	9,121
8 CONVENIENCE	7,001
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1 OUTLINES	2,121
2 THE ASCENT OF MONEY	1,081
3 CHAMPIONS DREAM	2,021
4 A FAIR COUNTRY	6,121
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6 MISS ATON REGRETS	7,121
7 IN THE SHOE OF WISDOM	9,141
8 THINKING WE'VE BEEN ABOUT	9,121
9 LIEVY by Peter C. Newman	4,121
10 SEVEN DAYS IN THE ART WORLD	1,121
LAST WEEK (ENDING ON JAN 18)	

'Canada Post should reduce rates for people who don't have home delivery. Fair's fair.'



strong, successful model of oral health delivery with a focus on prevention. Dentists deliver regulated mandatory and elective oral health care services in the best interest of their patients, while adapting to their changing demands. Dentists must discuss treatment plans with their patients, including benefits, prognosis, risks, reasonable alternatives and associated costs, so that they can make an informed treatment choice.

Dr. Deborah Symons,
President, Canadian Dental Association, Ottawa

YOUTHQUAKE

I AM A retired teacher. During my 36-year career I heard a lot about encouraging kids, building their self-esteem and not hurting their psyches. Building integrity was not mentioned. Now an alarmingly growing number of teens have an inflated sense of entitlement but no work ethic. They know all about their "rights" but nothing about their responsibilities. Plagiarism has become a big problem. With them it's not, say, me. What brings me to the article "Dude, where's my job?" (Business, Jan. 19). We now have a serious world economic crisis. Your article says that the incentives these Millennials crave "involve self-determination, being recognized for good work, and regular feedback." My experience with them is that they will want recognition for merely counting, recognizing it if their work were paid, and only positive feedback.

Gle Deas, Burlington, Ont.

I READ THIS article twice to make sure I got it right. If ever there was a case for mandatory military training of our youth, this is it. It is horrible to contemplate that people of this age will some day run the country. God help us all.

Leslie Swink Owen-Seward, Ont.

SEND A MESSAGE

IF CANADA POST considers it fair to apply distance-related pricing to magazines that are shipped long distances ("Cashing in on the mail," National, Jan. 26), then it should reduce

rates for those of us who don't have home delivery service but have to pick up our mail at centrally located mailboxes. Fair's fair.

Art Dawson, Edmonton

IF P.E.I. CANADA can charge long-distance mail based on the calling distance, then I see



STEPHEN HARPER confuses sovereignty with separatism

no reason why Canada Post can't charge postage based on how far the area is travelling.

Christina M. Rafusek, Toronto

CANADA IS THE second largest country on the planet, and critics are balking at the notion that it might cost a bit more to deliver mail to our northern residents? Here these critics mailed anything themselves lately? Henser mail is charged a higher postage rate, a package sent from P.E.I. to Vancouver will cost more than a package from P.E.I. to Montreal. The corporation makes money, yes, but also gives money back. According to the article, 34.7 million of its gross profit of \$460 million in 2007 (and that's gross profit, not net profit) went back to the federal government as a dividend, which in turn helps with federal programs, debt reduction and our Canadian social services, as well as countless other initiatives from the Canada Post Foundation like Mental Health to the Sacred Letter Writing campaign. If the Canada Post critics would prefer that their own position not make any profit and cause to do the above mentioned activities, are those same critics willing to take them over themselves? **Heather Jopling,** Coburg, Ont.

SOVEREIGN, NOT SEPARATE

AS AN ANGLO-QUEBÉCOIS, I am fed up with Stephen Harper and his ilk's misunderstanding of both Québec and the Rest of Québec, as demonstrated in his interview with Kenneth Whyte (Interview, Jan. 19). The Bloc is a sovereign party rather than a separatist party. A couple who wishes to separate gets a divorce and moves apart, a couple who wishes to be sovereign respects each other's individuality and independence, but doesn't live apart. Your staff should realize that such a sovereign Québec would be 50 members of Parliament to represent them in Ottawa, and they deserve the same respect as any other MP. Their presence in Ottawa has been successfully diminished the strength of the PQ here—until Harper started labelling the Bloc separatist instead of sovereign, once again demonstrating a gross misunderstanding of the Québec people.

Al Jemel, Hudson, Que.

EDITOR'S NOTE: An article in the Jan. 19 issue of Maclean's ("Producers Sell Loose") noted that 42 per cent of registered sex offenders in the Northwest Territories are non-compliant. That figure actually applies to Nunavut, where 105 of 242 offenders are missing. In the Northwest Territories, eight per cent of registered sex offenders (nine of 116) are non-compliant.

IN PASSING

John Updike, 76, author. A novelist, short-story writer and critic, he won two Pulitzer Prizes, for *Rabbit at Rest* and *Rabbit in Winter*. He published more than 30 books on diverse topics such as baseball, post-colonial Africa and a respected memoir, *Self-Consciousness*. He was a frequent contributor to magazines such as *The New Yorker*.

Fabrizio de Rothschild, 91, banker. A member of Britain's Rothschild banking family, he was instrumental in putting together a syndicate to build New Brunswick's Churchill Falls hydroelectric development in the 1960s. He was also a prominent agriculturalist who had oxen and rhinoceroses.

SOME OF THE WORLD'S BEST WRITERS. IN ONE COLUMN.



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ROGERS



A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF POPE BENEDICT XVI

The Pontiff is no disciple of the new U.S. President. On Saturday, the Vatican criticized Barack Obama for his "arrogance" in oversteering a ban on state funding for overseas abortions. By the next day, however, St. Hilary was the one being blasted after reintroducing four excommunicated bishops, including a well-known Holocaust denier and 9/11 conspiracy theorist. At least the Pope's new YouTube channel is doing well. It peaked this week at more than 90,000 hits.

Good news

Missing W.

It seems nobody misses George W. Bush more than al-Qaeda, which may explain its desperate propaganda attacks on U.S. President Barack Obama. The latest in its list of missives told Mr. Obama it is the "honest Negro" an "enemy of Muslims" and the architect of the events culled on Gaza (which actually happened on Gaza's wish predecessor's watch). Obama's plan to end the Iraq war, close Guantanamo Bay's prison and put its military trials on hold are portrayed by the somber network as weakness. But the missives play well in Iraq's average Muslim. A brave Lebanese magazine editor even put the President's picture on the cover, asking, "Who is Iraq's Obama?" The magazine was banned, of course, but it spoke to a hunger for change that al-Qaeda clearly resented. And that can only be good.

Beating polo

Microsoft, which had off 5,000 people last week, may be hurting because of the global recession and a lack of attention from its founders, but the development world is gaining big time from Google's passion for quality. The foundation spearheaded a 10-million-dollar campaign to create jobs; some have already dropped 98 per cent over the past decade, but Google says it is committed to keeping most of the last vestiges of the company's success, and he followed up with an announcement with a plan to do so. Google's success in 2009 despite the fact that its stock market value has fallen by 50 per cent since its IPO is a testament to the fact that the foundation's plan to create jobs is working. "I know the foundation will have its share of setbacks," he wrote this week. "But I believe I will have lots of success stories to share in the years ahead."

ahead? Now that's a man who understands the bottom line.

Diapers wanted

Expensive parents all hope and pray for the same thing: a healthy baby. A couple in southern California got their wish eight years over. For just the second time in history, a U.S. woman gave birth to "twins" (a boy and two girls) and, amazingly, all eight babies were stable and breathing on their own within hours of the birth. The hospital's Doc-

Loose belts

As the economy crumbles, politicians everywhere are promising to "tighten their belts" in an effort to crack down on wasteful spending. It's not going so well. In Britain, the Defense Department lost more than \$300 million because of poor bookkeeping and unexplained payroll errors. In Ontario, a \$150-million job-training program has turned out to be a glorified math class with low school graduation. And in Alberta, the pro-

But let's not go overboard. Putting on the uniform doesn't require a little bit of backside, and ending the odd "I am all bacon" or "Have another hot-cracker!" is all part of the job. Just like the bus office at Tim Hortons.

Rights at play

The International Olympic Committee likes to talk about how the Games are a force for good, fostering peace, understanding and openness. But the reality is the Olympics—at least for those who survive them—are all about money. So in the IOC's decision to ban the athlete-driven charity Right to Play from handing out information at Vancouver 2010, and beyond, the group's aim is taking a sponsorship from carmaker Mitsubishi, which is not an official Olympic partner. The IOC's fady is on picking on an organization that distributes soccer balls to war orphans. We know which organization really exemplifies fair play.

Wife type

Bullet the West wonders about the "death" of newspapers, journalists in other places face truly brutal hazards. Last week in Moscow, a masked gunman executed Anastasia Babitskaya, a reporter with the *Novaya Gazeta*, and a lawyer who represented the paper. The situation was bad that night Alexander Lebedev, one of the owners, his wife and his intelligence to give his journalists good for self-protection. In St. Louis, where newspaper editor Laurence Whitehead was killed earlier this month, five other journalists have fled the country, and another is in hospital after being beaten and stabbed. Solving murders that a few cops should never be asked for granted. ■

FACE OF THE WEEK



A PERFORMER has a smoke during the celebration of the Chinese Lunar New Year last week. The Year of the Ox begins on Jan. 26.

ters originally believed that the anonymous mother was carrying seven children, the eighth was an added bonus.

Apple of his eye

Hardly you get to Carnegie Hall? "Practice," goes a very old joke. Well, in the case of Victoria's Secret Fashion Show, it was also a very good gamble. The 39-year-old model the famous ball, lived 171 members of the New York Times, spent \$8,000 in advertising, and managed to draw 1,200 people to his performance. Hey, if you can make it there...

vacation that ferry driver's mission across the province took off without a single passenger 210 times last year. In other words, the province's VIP plates flew empty for a combined 45,000 km—the equivalent of travelling around the world 11 times.

Sticks and stones

Fed up with being called "pigs" and "donut eaters," police officers in Montreal are using the term to goad them the power to stop much-needed citizens with hefty fines. Cops ask the law every day, and they certainly deserve our respect and gratitude.

SAWYER AND COOPER SLUR, CHIRAC IS ATTACKED, AND THE PM GETS A STEEP HOME RENO ESTIMATE

NEWSMAKERS

Drunk on democracy?

For some anchors, there may be such a thing as too much Obama-mania. Last week, footage of a giddy, slurring Diane Sawyer and a strutting, teeming Anderson Cooper made the rounds on YouTube, along with speculation of how much booze each had consumed during the inaugural festivities before hitting the airwaves. In one clip, Sawyer uses a strange falsetto to throw to a segment featuring advice for the President from "Jerry, Jerry" Jols. She later tells the camera that she'd taken off her socks inside her boots. In another clip, Cooper struggles mightily to formulate

24 Seven: Canada's official floor-sipper

According to Marie LaRue, the CEO of Canada's National Capital Commission, the cost of the planned repairs to the Prime Minister's official residence will exceed the \$7.7 million originally estimated in 2006. The renovation has been delayed indefinitely by the Harpers. But Auditor General Sheila Fraser warned in a report last spring that the longer they wait, the more expensive it's going to get, and the greater the likelihood the building will suffer "a negative image of Canada with visiting foreign dignitaries." The house at 24 Sussex hasn't been renovated since 1949, and its windows, roof, and electrical and plumbing systems need a complete overhaul. It has "risky and inefficient air conditioning," according to Fraser, and is not wheelchair-accessible. Prime Minister Jean Chrétien's former prime minister Joe Clark's wife Maureen Mc

Teer recently suggested it as a column for the Montreal Gazette that the building simply be torn down, and replaced with a "Canadian architectural showcase."

But she's still a Lily Allen fan

Prince Harry's girlfriend of five years, Chelley Dary, has announced their breakup by changing her status on Facebook. The 23-year-old Welsh model recently updated her profile to read: "Relationship: Not in one."

A national tragedy comes to a tragic end

One Chinese octopus died the ultimate price for their role in the country's contaminated



CHERYL DARY

red seafood. Zhang Tiejun and Gao Jing were both found guilty of manufacturing and selling food products laced with radioactive, resulting in the deaths of at least 10 babies, and leaving 300,000 others severely ill. On Thursday, a Chinese court sentenced both men to death, as retribution of the crime passed outside the Shijiazhuang courtroom, angry for being denied the right to attend the trial.

Prisoners with very bad habits

An 11-year-old Roman Catholic priest has admitted to stealing hundreds of thousands of dollars from the collection box at his Florida church. The Rev. John Sikes was arrested last week for stealing roughly \$881,700 from 110 parishes over the past decade, trips to Las Vegas with his mistress, and a \$25,000 car.



JACQUES CHIRAC

new convictions. Meanwhile, Rev. Francis Guma, 61, stands accused of stealing an additional \$364,000, which he allegedly used to support his girlfriend's church bookkeeper, take trips

and indulge in gambling binges. Guma, who has pleaded not guilty, is scheduled to stand trial on Feb. 28. His lawyer intends to prove that his client spent the money doing God's work.

A side-affect of the anti-obesity treatments?

Former French president Jacques Chirac was rushed to hospital after being maulled by his dog, a Maltese named named Stano, according to the French magazine *VSD*. Chirac's wife, Bernadette, confirmed the incident. "If you only know," she said, "I had a dramatic day yesterday. Stano bit my husband!" Mrs.

Chirac accepted that the little white dog might be a threat to his health.

Step aside, Pamela Wallin

It's Mike Duffy's turn to defend his Senate appointment. His cross in P.E.I. say he has no right to represent them since he hasn't technically moved in the province for decades. Despite winning property taxes, Duffy said nega-

tives he would not sell down the issue publicly until after his swearing-in, so as not to "[feed] the resoundy debate." What Duffy's appointment doesn't, says *Maclean's* MP Wayne Easter, is that "Prime Minister's Office" isn't as far from the Constitution, or legality, if it doesn't suit his purpose.

Ottawa boys outsmarts birds, humans

For his school science fair project, Charlie Sokos, an ornithophile and Grade 5 student at the St. John's School in Ottawa, invented a technology designed to save birds from window deaths. The invention is a plastic dish, visible only to birds, that can be placed right in the middle of a windowpane without disrupting people's view. He hopes it will save the lives of some of the estimated 300 million birds that die every year from crashing into windows.

When monkeys fly

BA, a baby bonobo chimp, was invited to fly economy class with the human in a Lufthansa flight from Washington to Frankfurt last week. The tiny primate had been assigned by his trainer, Marijke, at the Twickenham Zoo in London, to be housed for the Frankfurt Zoo, where he would be welcomed by a female bonobo trained for fostering. Dispersed and blackened, BA was issued his own passport, which he wielded himself.

Funny, it didn't seem funny

Spanish actress Penélope Cruz, nominated for an Oscar for her supporting role in Woody Allen's *Matchstick Men*, says she didn't even realize the film was a comedy until after it was finished. "When we were in the middle of shooting," she said, "I felt like I was doing the most intense and disturbing drama I ever did in my career."

More stars are born

President Obama was not the only new star on inauguration day. Lobsenz, the 36-year-old Detroit-based designer who made the costumes for the ceremony, was named by *Architectural Digest* as one of the most influential designers in the world. Lobsenz, who is also a member of the Boyz Choir of Kenya, the only international choir invited to sing at the festivities, also signed a deal with Universal.



CLUIE AND ALLEN

during the wearing of My Contry, "It's of Ties, has become an 'overnight fashion sensation.' People are calling from England, asking for the hat," he said, and "We did not expect this." Also, Lobsenz was named as one of the most influential designers in the world.

More evidence that stars love Oprah

Rad Shapovalov, the scandal-plagued Russian governor, told ABC's *Good Morning America* this week that Oprah Winfrey was among his list of potential candidates to fill Barack Obama's vacant Senate seat, but he added that he couldn't think of a way to offend in her that "didn't look like it was some pious trick to embarrass her." Winfrey later told *Newsweek* that she was not to be. She told the interviewer, "I'd had been waiting as I normally watch from my treadmill. I probably would've fallen off."



MICHELLE LAGUERRE-PENICHE

a triumph Peniche, she left the ring.

\$14 million for your thoughts?

Former secretary of state Condoleezza Rice has been signed by the William Morris Agency, representative to the stars—the first step in what *Wired* magazine is calling the "retirement and evaluation" of her career. Rice will join the lecture circuit, appear at philanthropic events, and write two books about her life: one about her diplomatic career, and another about her present. Also appearing this spring of last year, Laura Bush, who signed a \$2-million deal last week, Sarah Palin, and Hillary Clinton, who is rumored to be in talks to sign a \$14-million, three-book deal.

Also, newer use your real name

During the early '80s, Sydney Biddle Barrett, better known as the Mayflower Maiden, was New York's most famous sex worker, called Coach. Three days, she teaches business to survive trying economic times. In April, Barrett is scheduled to be the keynote speaker at the Gaga Powerhouse Sales Event in Ottawa. Among her tips, she told the Ottawa Citizen, is that "it's not about customer service. It's about making the customer feel special." "Thank you, coach for recent purchases are a good idea, the wild the pupae, and always be willing to put on a show." ■



ON THE BOMBOLO

Music in the transit lounge at London's Heathrow Airport as they arrived home to Nairobi from Washington. The congress all between the ages of 13 and 24—treated their fellow travelers to an impromptu concert before boarding.

'Oligolo' with a cause

A Swiss man, who the British press has dubbed a "gigolo par excellence," stands accused of blackmailing Germany's wealthy women, the reclusive BMW heiress Susanne Klatten. Helg Sgarbi is charged with blackmailing Klatten and forced after he allegedly filed his affair with Klatten, a married mother of three, without her knowledge. According to media reports, Sgarbi's crimes may have been motivated by revenge for his father, a Polish Jew, had reportedly worked as a slave laborer in a



ON THE BOMBOLO



OPRAH WINFREY

Why this stimulus stuff will all soon be forgotten



PAUL WELLS

Hello! I am here to lodge a complaint on behalf of the Campaign Rappers' Guild under Section 1 (a) of the Grievance Manual, "Time Utterly Wasted on the Campaign Trail."

I will have you know I was there in Winnipeg. I was there at the vegetable distribution plant. I was there alone. There had to be one damn fully accredited campaign reporter there, on that sunny morning in the second week of September. We got up early. We dressed warmly because a vegetable distribution plant is basically a big refrigerator. We stood around with our cameras and our digital recorders, and the cameras and the tape-recorders, and waited for nearly an hour for Stephen Harper to show up and make precisely one promise.

It was the biggest promise of the 2008 campaign, in lower the dead-end cost on by two cents, to give truckers a break on their fuel bills. Does it sound like much, does it? Probably the Harper Conservatives were all *absolutely* spending like mad, because look, then, Harper's goal was to perring himself as the candidate of modest peace: no, again, Stephen Harper's modest peace was again, Stephen Harper's modest peace was again, Stephen Harper wasn't going to spend as much debt and warren, Stephen Harper wasn't going to promise the moon. Stephen Harper would stay focused? That's what was needed, he said at every stop. "The winning is an economy," which he took care to mention three times a day, told him so.

That little dead-end cost was actually recorded for the total value of all of Harper's campaign in Campaign '08. And, being a campaign promise, of course it was done.

Budget 2009 to 160 pages thick, it announced an array of spending increases and tax cuts. There is money for rural towns in the Northwest. There is \$21 million for a new arts prize. There is \$400 billion for an extraordinary financing framework. There's

not a word about diesel engine taxes. My training as a journalist tells me that on that sunny morning in Winnipeg, the Prime Minister of all the Canadians was talking out of his butt. Don't cry for the truckers. The cost of diesel has fallen 30 cents a litre since Harper made his promise. It's not that the biggest promise of 2008 was vital and unfulfilled, it's that it was beside the point while he was making it. Harper's "winning is an economy" (he has a master's degree—I took a few French literature courses in university, can I claim that as Gutter Flakier?) wasn't worth a lot less than, neither was anyone's. My favourite charted this year's budget books in Chart 2.22 on page 46, which might as well carry the title NOT MY DAMNED FRUIT and drive

into, but at least they won't be even justice or if the economy gets even worse.

So the danger of the quiet post having proved inadequate to the stormy present, the Conservatives have delivered a monthly budget. It's missing money. The words are whispering it all about. If you found outside without an umbrella (in this year you will almost certainly get some federal largesse on you. The rain is not for all this bluster is "winning.")

Coffee provides stimulus too, and within a day after drinking some you have paid more of it away. So too with this budget. In two years it will be hard to find evidence of all this spending ever happened. In mid-November, before things got wild in the capital, I wrote, "Given a choice, Harper will avoid spending



It is raining money. Go outside without an umbrella and you'll get largesse all over you.

or, possibly, that much of the current money really isn't Harper's fault, except enough to be decided to eliminate power of tonight at the worst possible moment.

The chart's actual title is EVOLUTION OF PRIVATE SECTOR WAGE/WORKS FOR HOURS FORGIVEN. GOVERNMENT 2008. It hardly gives a full picture of the economic growth that is going on for months on end. As the end of last August, when Harper decided to leave the election, the lowest of quarters were announcing Canada's GDP would grow more than two percent in 2009. By the time Harper got to the vegetable plant the projections were down to 1 percent. By the time Jim Flaherty was in the Commons to deliver his fiscal update at the end of November, the projections had fallen to zero. Now it's well into negative territory. On the scale of a federal budget, the difference between two percent and less than zero is many times as difficult to handle. So, He rolled back to Harper and Flaherty have decided to plan on the assumption that one should have given are too many. We are headed for further def-

icit things that work or not, because we might conclude that what's important is for "This production has held up better than others Harper's crystal ball having failed him throughout the last half of 2008, he has abandoned any attempt to plan. Here is some example.

The budget provides \$750 million to build new university labs and \$2 billion to fund federal government labs and \$250 million to fund federal government labs and \$250 million for scholarship for graduate students can sit in all this time. And it cuts the budget for the granting councils that pay for research. Apparently all these great numbers are supposed to be something else in all of these labs besides research. There is no use getting too fixed about all this. In November Harper fed advocates of stimulus who argued that to spend, and be quick about it. He did just that. The Prime Minister has had to swallow himself whole. It would be a bit hard to ask him to be thoughtful while he did it.

ON THE WEB: For more Paul Wells visit his blog at www.paulwells.ca/indonesiaweb

It's time to talk about North American integration



ANDREW POTTER

Now that Barack Obama has announced that he will make his first international visit to Canada, Stephen Harper should use the opportunity to reexamine an idea that has been shelved long on the vote this past decade: North American integration.

For decades, the conventional political wisdom in Canada has been that it is never wise for a young nation to get too close to the Americans, even when the young president is popular (as Bill Clinton was, for instance). You can put that wisdom to bed. Not only is our current Prime Minister about as popular as Lennox Jewry was prior to his Conservative defeat, but the Americans on the play level of world as well. Meanwhile, Obama is far better liked up here than Stephen Harper will ever be. Harper's best hope, if he wants a majority government, might be to get as close as he can to Obama and pray that some of the man's popularity rubs off on him.

It is not only about rubbing in the President's charisma. It is also about taking advantage of the fact that after almost a full decade of American economic and embassies, there is a window of opportunity for us to re-engage the Americans on some key issues for decades. As former ambassador to the U.S. Dick Barry put it in the new issue of *Policy Options*: Canada and the U.S. don't really trade things as much as much as they should. But a fully engaged economic needs, at some level, integrated governance structures to resolve regional, collective issues, and mutual benefit.

There's a growing gap between the by the line "Yes, the economic—and in some quarters, human—over-continental integration has been an appropriate regional pact. Through the use of NAFTA and North American is quickly becoming a trading bloc.

to compare with the EU and ASEAN. There was no doubt in anyone's mind that regional integration would continue, the only question was how. Should the trade agreement be broadened to include free movement of labour, or even a single customs union? Or should we focus on building a political layer on top of the economic agreement?

There was even a bit of borderless nation in the air. Anthony DePalma—a contributor for the *New York Times* who had worked in both Canada and Mexico—captured the headlines of the times with *Three: A Biography of the New American Continent*. Released at the summer of 2001, the book was an attempt at exploring this emerging yet still ill-defined continental identity in an

analogue to the way that Mexico along with NAFTA only came after integration and Mexico Canada showed its way into negotiations between the U.S. and Mexico. Now we are rethinking the agreement is actually two bilateral deals, one between Canada and the U.S., the other between the U.S. and Mexico.

More importantly, the election of Obama offers a possibility of bringing the left on board. For decades, Canadian politicians on the left have pursued every step toward integration to yet another sacrifice of our sovereignty to the Empire of Manicouagan, one of the largest strategic errors they made, long ago, was ending the process of continental integration to pro-business lobby groups like the *Trade Agreement's* previously named Canadian Council of Chief Executives. By allowing the terms and conditions of continental integration to be dictated by the capitalists, the left found itself shunted into a reactionary and inept position.

But there is more at stake when it comes to building North America than the usual conservative objections of trade and security. We should consider climate change, energy and the environment, the economy—all of which were part of the agenda made by Harper to the new



What's at stake isn't just security or trade but energy and climate change. Harper sees this.

concluding pages. DePalma wrote: "When we fall out an integration forum as an export, it is for a moment, but long enough to consider simply writing in the word 'Trade' for the word 'economy'. I have come to feel like a Newlander, a citizen of North America, with all the opportunity for learning over of that concept exists."

But in truth, enthusiasm on all sides for deeper continental integration never in and out like the tales, and nothing much happened in the 15 years since NAFTA was signed, with Canada, Mexico, and the United States continue to promote more or less independent policy. As Stephen Clarkson has recently argued, North America exists in "geography, not governance," and outside of free trade has done nothing to draw North America into a self-conscious political community like the one gradually emerging in Europe.

Still, there are two reasons to think the current North American moment will lead to more lasting change. The first is that Canadian liberals give upon the notion that progress

is not after Obama was elected. For an even more pressing concern, that of how the Canadian government recently has itself into a protest trying to put together a budget for the anniversary. The budget was based on a need to move the country forward, as a new leader, money didn't serve as a lever for driving goals and production out of Canada, and it is evidence that integration is as much a state of crisis as during boom years. These issues are neither's left for progress, and the left has everything to gain by moving itself into the process as quickly and energetically as possible.

But in the end, North America should not serve as a platform for radicals, any more than for capitalists. Continental integration is something that could benefit everyone equally, and with Obama in the White House we are in a unique position where we can actually make it happen. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Potter visit his blog at www.andrewpotter.ca/indonesiaweb



'Most people here don't have a wide emotional range. It's the type of people astronauts are, they're required to be level.'

ASTRONAUT JULIE PAYETTE TALKS TO KATE FILLION ABOUT HER NEXT TRIP TO SPACE—THE LUGGAGE, THE FOOD, THE OFFICE POLITICS, THE CALLS HOME

Q You were the first Canadian to go into the international space station. In 1999, and you're scheduled for another space shuttle mission in May. Is being a year older an advantage, or a disadvantage?

A Well, you certainly don't have the energy you had when you were 30. But the fact that I've been in space before is a huge advantage. You're less apprehensive when you know what to expect. Also, the first flight is very important in this performance-driven culture I work in; it establishes your reputation. If you don't do well, it's probably your last flight. So although I have a longer and more complicated mission this time, I did have that same pressure. I think I'm going to enjoy it even more.

Q Do astronauts specifically apply for each mission?

A You're always under the microscope, and you don't know which mission you're going to get. It's a surprise.

Q There are more than 100 astronauts in Montreal. How do you make yourself stand out?

A Definitely you can't become famous by doing something big, that's a professional disadvantage. You remember that what ever you do, someone will be watching, and you study all the time. It sounds terrible, but you get used to it. I'm 45, and I'm still at school, essentially even after being assigned to the mission. I had to write a number of exams, with people commenting on my per-

formance, and that was only to get certified, which means you've earned the right to start the mission-specific training on the actual tasks you're going to do in space. We also do a lot of continuing training on what we'd do if something went wrong.

Q Where were you when the Columbia shuttle broke apart in 2003?

A In Iowa of all places.

Q What was the impact on you personally and on the astronaut corps generally?

A Generally, after an accident like that, you review how you do things and learn to do them better. Personally, I would not have been able to imagine, when I was working as an engineer in Canada, that I would have seven of my close colleagues in the air, right in front of the entire world. I had three classmates on this flight; there were no strangers. One of my best friends was on board. I mean, hell, tell that.

Q Did that have any effect on your willingness to fly?

A I'm almost apologetic to say this, but most people here don't have a wide emotional range. It's just the type of people around here; they're engaged to be level. If anything, [the Columbia disaster] increased my willingness, because I knew they wouldn't be waiting for me to go back up as soon as we were ready and able to do so, so that this was not all in vain. Some people will always be out waiting on expense, and in me, in my mind, a package I never want to go back.

Q Have you made peace with the fact that

you may not come back down?

A I have. You definitely get your things in order, because you do know that it is a possible thing. It's a possibility when you cross the street. So it's a good thing to have your papers in order always.

Q Were you really not worried—though your husband is an experimental test pilot, so he's also well-versed in risk?

A It's most unworried for the person who's not on the shuttle, that is to say, I am definitely a little more nervous for my colleagues when I'm working as mission control than I am myself, on the shuttle. But my husband and I don't worry about each other the way we might if we didn't have terrible jobs. I sometimes get an email where he tells me he's handing off an mission to the mission specialist so far above the ground at 900 knots. And I just say, "Okay, have a good flight." It'll be the same on the day I take off in space, he'll say, "Have a good flight." And that's exactly how we are with our children. With our five-year-old and our two-year-old, we watch the shuttle take off, we go through the mission, and tell him what you say it, "Be nice, you know."

Q NASA is scheduled to shut down the space shuttle program in 2010 and the Shuttle arrives to the space station until the next generation of spacecraft is ready in 2015. Recently, people like John Glenn have argued the shuttle should still operate in the interim. What do you think?

A I think it is going to be an important

decision that the incoming President will have to make fairly quickly because of the money involved. NASA has a limited budget and cannot have five major programs at the same time. We are flying Russian rockets to the space station right now, so for the moment, it's not different. But of course it would be nice to continue using the space shuttle because it has this unique capability that no other spacecraft in the world has: it can return cargo from space.

Q Let them pay for the recovery, did you say you're an Explorer now. Are they substantially different?

A It's like when you get a real car. If you choose a Ford Taurus, maybe there are a few different options like there, but basically they're the same.

Q What are your responsibilities that time around?

A I'm the flight engineer, which means I sit between the commander and the pilot on the flight deck—my mind, hardly, the best seat in the house—and I'm part of the crew that flies the shuttle and docks at the space station. And I'm also an arm operator, so sometimes I'm in the shuttle moving the Canadian, sometimes I'm in the space station moving the Canadian, and sometimes I'll be moving and operating the Japanese arm, which is attached to their module.

Q What's the mood on the space station when the shuttle docks?

A It's like they have the house, it's really excited and everything is in a big place, and then, whoa? Human one is in and they break the rules, everything, on your watch listen and do as you wish out of your ear. I feel like I'm going to be in a big ship, going the other way and the kind of creature comforts are almost to be a sleeping pill.

A Absolutely. That's no time to come up with red eyes because you couldn't sleep. We have to be a professional, fully functioning member of the team. We say a whole bunch of medications for all kinds of things on the ground, so this is not the first time you're taking something.

Q Is there anything you can't live without that you bring?

A There's nothing I can't live without, but I do bring maple syrup butter. We have no fridge up in space, so bread would go bad pretty quickly, but we have vanilla, which keeps much longer. Maple butter spread on a muffin is absolutely delightful. On my first mission, the fork can I brought was gone in two days.

Q Is there a weight limit on carry-on luggage?

A You're not allowed to carry anything.

actually. For all this hype around—the noodle-bath, the hairbrush, etc.—you go to the crew equipment provider. You walk into a room and there's clothing, noodle-bath, naps for the boys, things like that, and you choose. "Okay, I'd like that kind of noodle-bath and two pairs of those shorts," and the guy doesn't see them again until you're in space.

Q How often will you talk to your family?

A For the first two days, once we're in the space station, out of all those we're in the space station, we have what I call the ideal system: you can phone out—when the crew has a connection link to working, which is not always—but no one can call in. However, there are only two phones and we will be 13 on board, so there might be a line up, it'll be like a phone booth. But our families can use all the time. NASA has a lot of resources on a satellite channel.

Q What would you think of astronauts working on the launch pad?

A No, because you're conscious of it, particularly if you're the one woman on board with 13 guys. I usually turn off the camera or go away while I'm getting dressed or brushing my teeth.

Q Are there personality clashes between astronauts and astronaut chiefs in the past?

A You do have to have some special qualities to go for a long duration. It's like going on an expedition to Antarctica and wintering there—not everybody is cut out for that. Still, most astronauts are very calm in terms of characteristics, calm and positive in solving whatever they're given. Russians, British, Canadian or American. It's a mutual job, mostly operational. We're the operators of the vehicle, but we're also the Maytag repair men, the proxy telephones, the videographers, the cleaning lady—everything.

Q And in any working situation there's friction.

A Of course!

Q How do you deal with that in close quarters with a bunch of other super achievers?

A Part of it is dealt with through rounds and months of training in simulation. You're in a room, eight hours a week in the cockpit of the space shuttle in a flight simulator, so of us in a space the size of the average bathroom. By default, you have to work things out. Also, we do training exercises in harsh weather conditions in the wilderness. They have food and we have to find it, we have to build snow caves—some of it is simply to make you a team player. We also do a lot of peer-to-peer evaluation: your colleague tells you his perception, and you tell him yours, and hopefully that's helpful.

Q Is every minute of every day in space completely scheduled?

A The first few days, you have zero time off. Part of that is because there's an adaptation to weightlessness that goes on in the first few days, and you are slower than on the ground. I don't get much, but people say the adaptation to weightlessness is similar to that feeling. For most of us, it's a matter of hours or a day where you feel not so comfortable, or nauseous. But that is no time to go to a corner and feel sorry for yourself and my own work. No day after the first I'm told, I don't know if it's true or not, that the body surrenders to weightlessness. I hope so.

Q Do you think this will be your last time in space?

A I hope not. There's no set age when you can't fly; a medical certification decides that. We've had people as old as their 50s, and of course we had John Glenn at 77.



'I do bring maple syrup butter up in space. On my first mission, the can was gone in two days.'

Q What do you think about space tourism?

A It's a totally normal evolution. As we have a better grip on our rocket propulsion and our means of going to space—it's still a risky business—the industry will grow. A lot of people, I think, would love to see the earth from above, new perspectives. Certainly, when I was a kid, I wanted to wear a space suit.

Q How do you feel now that you actually have to wear one?

A Afterward that I don't have to do every day! It's not very comfortable. ■

THE RIGHT IN FULL RETREAT

BUDGET 2009: The Tories' colossal spending spree means big government, enormous deficits, higher taxes—and the death of conservatism in Canada



ANDREW COYNE

Canada—as a movement, as a philosophy—they go out with a bang.

We can safely say that the usage of "incrementalism," at least, is a thing of the past. With that word's historic baggage, the Conservatives' already headlong retreat from principle has become a rout—a good final leap into the void. Undimmed, there will be no going back from this, for the party or for the country. Whatever the budget's sordid talk of "responsible" and "extraordinary" debt, and for all its well-measured claims showing

spending obediently attaching to expense, deficits rocketing as budgeting, multi-billion-dollar "investments" repaid in full, we are in fact headed somewhere we have never been before. We are enroute towards massive and permanent increases in the size and scope of government: record spending, sky-high borrowing, and—ultimately, inevitably—higher taxes. And all this before the first of the baby boomers have had a chance to retire.

Whether or not the country's waning, and not just conservatives', will depend upon events. In its simplest sense, the budget is a "stimulus package" that spile money every which way: \$12 billion over two years for infrastructure, almost \$8 billion more to kick-start housing and construction, billions more in forestry, auto and manufacturing aid. The much feared bread-based income tax cuts are unrelated to lifting the income

threshold for the middle and lower brackets. If everything the budget forecasts comes to pass, we might not come out of it too badly. A \$34 billion deficit next year, after all, is barely two per cent of GDP, and even four years and \$81 billion worth of deficits, if the budget's projections hold, would barely budge our debt-to-GDP ratio. But if they *don't*—if the economy fails to recover on cue, if inflation spikes when it does, and interest rates soon after, if all those trillions in new spending, once in place, do not prove so easy to trackback, if the assets the government acquires with all of its borrowed money do not turn out to be worth what they cost—then we will head into the approaching demographic storm headed down to the periphery. It's a macabre, even apocalyptic gamble.

And wherever so high consequences for the debt, its effect has already been to nudge

BUDGET DAY Stephen Harper meets with (left to right) ministers Diane Finley, Jim Flaherty, Stockwell Day and Lisa Raitt in his office.

up expectations, to tilt the political landscape toward greater and greater interventionism, to change the very language in which we discuss these things. Again, this is unlikely to be easily reversed. Among the consequences of the end of conservatism will be to make it difficult, if not impossible, to restore conservatism even for making the growth of government, let alone rolling it back. When the "right" is defined as \$34-billion deficits, record spending, and bailout for everything, struggle—where many other party into the left of this—people lose the ability to think in any other way. They forget there was ever a contrary view.

Conservatives, then, should think hard about whether they can afford to support this government any longer. Its sole contribution at this point is to limit debate, to

rule out of bounds any serious discussion of alternatives, into "even" a Conservative government now believes in an all pervasive, ever expanding state. The Conservatives experience the whole enterprise of "winning the right" in which conservatives have invested much of the past decade—has reached a dead end. They have not succeeded in replacing the Liberals. They have only succeeded in becoming them. Perhaps, some conservatives will conclude, it would be better if this government were defeated—if the party were to lose power, that it might find itself

Start with matters that require no pre-dictum, with the fiscal facts on the ground. The coming fiscal year, according to the budget's own numbers, will see the largest annual increase in spending

(with one arguable exception) since at least the Second World War. The \$22 billion the Harper government will pile on top of program spending this year, adjusted for inflation and population growth, amounts to an increase of more than 10.1 per cent. That's a larger rise, in real dollars per citizen, than anything the Trudeau governments ever mustered, even in the heady days of the early 1970s, when they were putting in place the modernization of the modern welfare state. (Its only possible rival is 2005, when spending increased by a similar amount—though it almost decline the following year suggests how in as much an screaming achievement as anything else.) For the record, it's more even than in the infamous first budget of Bob Rae's Ontario government.

No government in our history has spent



this much, this fast. Before the budget, no government had spent more than about \$6,000 per citizen, in 2008 dollars—no, not even in the depths of the 1980 recession. This budget blows through that ceiling, all the way to \$6,500, and says there, four years from now, after the recession is presumably a memory, the government will still be spending nearly \$6,400 per capita. At the start of this decade, it was spending just \$4,800. Somehow the federal government is now finding ways to spend a third more inflation-adjusted dollars on each of its citizens.

Two points are worth noting about this latest explosion in what we should say is a symptom of spending: One is the sheer mind-bogglingness of it. Suggestively the government's dilemma was how to balance short-term

crisis-sharp increases along the St. Lawrence and Saguenay rivers."

In pursuit of an declared aim of creating "all regional prosperity," the budget adds new regional development agencies for those few remaining parts of the country not already blanketed in federal cash, including—yes, it's come to this—southern Ontario. Another section contains the government's promise to "short-term" support for "new" areas. These temporary hardship zones turn out to include such perennial wards of the state as farming, forestry, mining, and shipbuilding. "In recent years," the budget notes laconically, "the industry has experienced declining demand," the remedy for which is apparently to increase supply ("Budget 2009 provides a catalyst to increase activity in the sector").



WHAT DOES IT MEAN WHEN THE 'RIGHT' IS DEFINED AS \$34-BILLION DEFICITS, RECORD SPENDING, AND BAILOUTS FOR ALL?

"stimulus" with the need to improve the economy's productive capacity in the long run—a constitutionalist to legislate with, since the kind of spending that can be shovelled out the door in time to claim credit for the recovery is unlikely to be subject to especially searching scrutiny, such as would ensure these funds were put to their highest and best use. But the laundry list of spending in this budget shows stark evidence of any thinking at all.

Absolutely everything, it appears, now counts as "stimulus" (as author "publicworks," a phrase that had acquired a certain odour in this country, was recently cited "infrastructure"). On and on it goes, for dozens and dozens of pages as extra five weeks of EI benefits for everybody (any taking that away in a couple of years), a 100 per cent tax write-off on business purchases of computers (apparently, Canadian business has yet to hear of these miraculous devices, or at least must be led by the hand to buy them), \$12 million a year "to promote international

Then it's off to economic bailouts, support for the cultural industries, permanent increases in equalization (inequality among the provinces may go down, but equalization always goes up), tax credits for home renovations (you thought it was hard to get a contractor on the phone now?), "an improved rail system," slaughterhouses, hockey rinks, broad bands, the Musée Ministère d'Art in Québec City. The government will be everywhere, and everything.

And why not? When there is no longer any budget constraint, when deficits are not evidence of incompetence, but "stimulus," why should any project, any sector, any region be denied? More to the point, when there is no political constraint—when no party is pulling to the right, while four pull left—spending can only go in one direction. And for the foreseeable future, that's where the scene is going to be: sucking money from the public's pocket of the state. Seizing a business? Only a dump would spend his time worry-

ing about pleasing the consumer. It's the politician you want to keep happy, mate.

The other point to make about all this is that the budgeted numbers are only the start. The \$14-billion official deficit is barely a third of the more than \$100 billion in new debt issued the government will bring to market, this year and next. \$100s more will be borrowed and tacked onto off-budget, through a handful of Crown corporations—the Export Development Corporation, the Business Development Bank, and so on—while the existing program to avert mortgage aid to the balance sheets of the nation's banks will be bumped up from \$75 billion to \$115 billion. The real deficit is not at all what it appears. It runs a problem in the credit markets, remember, and should be addressed there—and it is true that much if not most of these funds will be borrowed, or never comes upon this at a time when the government is already taking on tens of billions in new debt to stabilize the financial sector, it hardly seems wise to be piling \$14 billion deficits on top.

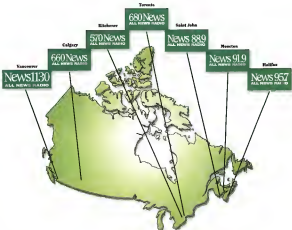
It is all bad. Of course not. The cuts in tariffs on imported machinery are a real boost to the competitiveness of Canadian industry, the very opposite of a subsidy. The lumped-up Working Income Tax Credit will help lower the "welfare wall" that prevents the long-term unemployed from taking work (for fear of being cut off welfare). Fighting EI premiums, however, at a time of rising unemployment, seems only sensible, rather than allow them to rise and price more people out of work. Raising income tax thresholds can't hurt, and maybe help—if it weren't paid for with borrowed funds. It can hardly seem as a prudent for the Liberals to deficit the budget, however, tax cuts seem for just one dollar in 10 of the alleged "stimulus"—occasionally, if you count the foreign increase in EI premiums.

More honestly, how in good conscience could the Liberals, or the NDP for that matter, vote against a budget they might have written? Every line of it seems to have been composed in a kind of home of Keynesian nostalgia. We are back to the bad old days of the 1960s and '70s, when savings were a dirty word and consumption was thought to "drive" the economy, when economists were "pragmatic" to be "prudent" by wise and far-sighted policy makers pulling levers on the wall. And as another 10 years or so, when we are drowning in debt and the new old wisdom has been ditched, perhaps a new political philosophy will arise, and a new party to give voice to it. We might call it conservatism. ■

ON THE WEB: For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at www.andrewcoyne.ca.

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LIBERAL LEADER Michael Ignatieff smiled, "We've got to look at the fine print." He was sending his options open.

SCENES FROM INSIDE THE PRESSURE COOKER

BUDGET 2009: Political fortunes will rise or fall on this document. How it came together—and what's next. BY JOHN GEDDES

Paul Desmarais Jr., ex-chief executive officer of Noranda's Power Corp., is hero of his family's legendary influence in business and politics, but is used to being told over a boardroom table that he's got only five minutes to wrap up his thoughts. Neither is Mike Lazaridis, founder and co-CEO of Research In Motion, the White House, Ont.-based maker of the iconic BlackBerry. But that was the tersest Carol Taylor, the former British Columbia finance minister, set for Desmarais, Lazaridis and seven other business heavyweights, plus one

tax policy guru, for the opening round of remarks at their first meeting, held on Dec. 23 in Toronto, as an economic advisory committee formed to help Finance Minister Jim Flaherty craft the high-stakes budget he delivered this week.

Flaherty summoned the committee into existence after he burned dozens of weeks after his announcement Nov. 17 full economic update. The nearly disastrous stumble, which sparked a parliamentary crisis, was quickly followed by a growing conviction at the top levels of the Conservative government that

only a rapidly delivered, massively costly budget would convince Canadians that they were serious, after all, about acting in the face of a world economic crisis. For the Tories' calculation: that the economy's plunge would make it easier for them to do things they said they never would in last fall's election campaign, like spend their way into an enormous deficit. Anxious Canadians, they figured, wouldn't be keeping track of their party's policy inconsistencies. "Our sense is the public isn't interested in partisanship," said one senior Conservative aide. "They're interested in seeing that we're head at work on the economy."

In that pressure cooker atmosphere, Taylor agreed to chair Flaherty's advisory committee. It included not only Desmarais and

Lazaridis, but also the likes of influential C. economist Jeremy Pattison and University of Calgary professor Jack Manzi, the country's most sought-after tax policy expert. She started off at the Toronto meeting, the first of four they held, by asking them all to compress their most urgent recommendations for Flaherty, who was in the stable chair since they gathered: "I said, 'You've got five minutes, give it your best shot,'" Taylor told Maclean's. "Tell him the two or three things he must, or must not, do."

Just how influenced the advisory group really ended up being is open to debate. According to Taylor, many of the main recommendations made it into the blueprint Flaherty tabled in the House this week. They favored a short-term stimulus spending, including not only public works but also health projects, along with reforms to boost the employment insurance payments, and permit tax cuts targeted mainly at lower income earners. I won't do them. And not all of it was no-brainer material. Many economists had argued, for instance, that cutting taxes isn't sufficient way to spur a slumping economy, and the lost tax revenue would make it that much harder for the government to remedy its way back out of deficit.

Taylor said the advisory committee "strongly

glad" with the debate over what sort of tax relief made sense in stimulus. "It meant to be that it's a temporary measure, it isn't spent, because it doesn't become a part of family financial planning," she said. "If you really want to encourage consumer, it has to be permanent." Crisis central, however, that Flaherty cautioned the committee to give him exactly this sort of advice: "If you're putting together a budget plan that's clearly weighted toward the business sector, you're going to get business sector advice, like tax cuts, which don't have a particularly serious impact on the economy," and David Macdonald of the left-leaning Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives: "If you put yourself in an echo chamber, you hear the same thing over and over."

The debate over the economic advisory committee was in a genuine bid to gather the best ideas, or a mere public relations gambit?—surely up the whole thing here, sending around it is usually an indication of a ruling coalition. It's possible to discern the high stakes for the Flaherty's economy from the big time political wagon on the table. Unemployment right now, single and married alike, but political fortunes, too, will rise or fall on this 360-page document.

Flaherty's stance is obviously at risk. What's left of the massive strategic separation of his boss, Prime Minister Stephen Harper, is also on the line. As for Michael Ignatieff, the new Liberal leader has made choices but to mount a tricky hedge bet, trying to sound critical enough of the budget to seem tough, but not so much as to let him be seen as delusional Harper's minority unless he decides he's really got no choice.

Ignatieff's immediate reaction was to leave all his options open. But he hardly sounded, on Tuesday, like a man powerfully predisposed to vote the government out of office this week or next. "There are some positive notes to this budget," he told reporters outside the House that evening, "which I believe are the result of the pressure and unity among opposition parties." By Saturday, he was referring to the environmental confusion that Liberal struck with New Democrats, with federal Bloc Québécois backing, after Flaherty's full economic update. The coalition's vote was to defeat the Tory minority. Given that Governor General Michaelle Jean is given a chance to form a government, rather than call an election, instead, Harper persuaded Jean to let him suspend Parliament until it returned this week to table the budget, after a preliminary speech from the Throne.

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN HALLER

COVER: WALTER LORENTZ/GETTY IMAGES

But 2nd Prime Minister, whose ministry is already facing a severely recalled historical footnote around Ottawa, was still Liberal leader when the coalition was hatched. After Harper won his re-election from Justin, Ignatieff's ascent to the leadership was hastened when Dean stepped down, and Ignatieff's rivals to succeed him dropped out. Although Ignatieff never declared the coalition deal, he was alive the threat of moving it should Flaherty deliver a budget that was irresponsible for Liberals to swallow, his heart never seemed to be in the concept.

And his second response to the budget seemed to signal that he was inclined to let it pass, even though he reserved the right to meet with ministers and make his final decision on Wednesday this week. Among the

'YOU'VE GOT FIVE MINUTES, GIVE IT YOUR BEST SHOT,' MEMBERS OF FLAHERTY'S HIGH-POWERED ADVISORY COMMITTEE WERE TOLD

key points that heated Liberal MPs would be looking over were whether the budget's Employee and Insurance changes did enough for the many thousands who will surely lose their jobs in 2009, and whether Flaherty's new billions for infrastructure could really be spent far enough to help the economy better weather the recession. "We've got to look at the five point," Ignatieff said, which hardly sounded like a litany for a quick bid to form this coalition or prime, much less risk the winter election he'd earlier declared Canada needs "like a hole in the head." Between pinning the budget and voting it down, Ignatieff had a third option: moving the right to try to amend it when it goes to a House committee for review.

Naturally, both Liberals and Tories were claiming their leaders had come out of the budget process in better shape. But could it possibly be true in both cases? Pollster Nick Norris said that Harper and Ignatieff each appear to have been changed, in different ways, from the extraordinary political period leading up to the budget.

Any lingering optimism for Conservative

ideological orthodoxy that might have clung to Harper was surely washed away in the tactical decision pending that would, in former terms, have seemed inconceivable on this Prime Minister's watch. Conservative members might regret the loss of the old Harper, but Norris said other Canadians would welcome an ease with the new minister. "One of the concerns people always had about him as Conservative was that they were dogmatic and ideological," Norris said. "Now what we're seeing is a more flexible working Prime Minister. In the long run, that could serve him well."

Ignatieff faced a different potential challenge, not overcoming his doubts but about the way he took over his party. After all, he joined the Liberal leadership without having



WHAT WE'RE seeing is a more flexible working PM

to go to the trouble of winning a convention. Not only did he lose out on the chance to introduce himself to Canadians by appointing a winning leadership campaign, the decision to let Ignatieff win his place on Liberal party loyalty might have in doubt—in particular, because of a political issue that lies to come true him as a descendant of Russian immigrants whose hearing those.

Instead of having to invent a way to introduce himself to Canadians, Ignatieff was able to hit the coalition on budget-themed news that put the focus squarely on how he was applying his vaunted horsepower to a pressing matter. "This process was clearly shaped by him," Norris observed. "It turned into an

intellectual pursuit: what should we do as this economy?" His strengths are setting terms, making the problem, trying to find solutions. He's going to be able to make judgments in the budget. This gives him something substantive to talk about, instead of just, 'Hello, I'm Michael Ignatieff, the new Liberal leader!'"

Ignatieff's first budget tour was marked, although from a town hall in Halifax, to a huge lunch speech in Toronto, to a session with enthusiastic union leaders in Montreal. Still, it couldn't compare with the blitz of consultations the Tories staged, a process unveiled any recent budget. Flaherty not only met repeatedly with his blue chip advisory committee, he also set through many hours of by invitation only, closed-door,

round-table meetings in five cities. Harper held his own round-table sessions, and also watched the phones to keep the provincial premiers in the loop—could enter a strategic necessity, since they would have to sign onto the budget's big shared-cost infrastructure plans.

Nobody outside might have seen the circle around both men, but they knew much about the personal relationship between Harper and Flaherty. Government officials and their close friends on the budget was on Dec. 16, followed by four more meetings in short succession in the first two weeks of January, and then a critical final face-to-face at a downtown Toronto hotel on Jan. 20. At that meeting, they decided to be finalized. In the days that followed, control of the budget seemed to pass mostly out of Flaherty's hands and into the clutches of the Prime Minister's strategic communications apparatus. Time-honored traditions of budget secrecy were now shed in a blunt effort to prepare the ground for budget day.

In March of Jan. 22, when opponents were called to a briefing on Parliament Hill, at which a government official, who spoke on

the condition he not be named, easily announced that the budget would provide \$14 billion deficit in 2009-10 and \$30 billion the following fiscal year. This bombshell—clearly designed to blunt the impact of those stag-ging numbers when Flaherty moved the message to budget—was only the start. Cabinet ministers fanned out to announce \$1.5 billion in training funds for laid-off workers, \$1 billion to upgrade social housing and \$600 million to upgrade housing for First Nations reserves, another \$1 billion to help out seniors, forestry and farming income, and half dozen of millions for other programs.

John Chisholm's Liberal government, when Paul Martin was finance minister through much of the 1990s, became famous for leaking bits of its budget plans, and forcing real battles over potential resources. At the time, Finance Department papers found their heads over the creation of secrecy practices, which are designed largely to make sure all players in financial markets get key economic and financial news at the same time. But compared to 2009's all you can eat buffet of pre-budget budget information, the selective leaks of the Martin era look, in retrospect, like that great!

But how the Tories parsimoniously shared the budget process, showing it wide open for good? One senior government adviser said the process would likely not be repeated. The largely improved process of wide-ranging consultations, however, might become a model for future budgets. Dozens of opinion leaders, especially business leaders, were pulled into meetings with Harper, Flaherty, and other key cabinet ministers. As a direct result, many will likely be far more inclined to sympathize if the budget plan fails to work economic magic, and less prone to blaming those bag deficits. "They got everybody involved," said Rob McElvaine, executive chairman of auto parts maker Magna International Inc., who attended a round-table meeting with Flaherty. "It's probably because the economy is so far from what it is in one of the best-planned budgets that we've had in a long time."

From a corporate executive, talking about the budget that will sink the federal books in red ink, that's remarkably high praise. In the coming months ahead, Harper and Flaherty will no doubt be working their newly expanded network for support. "After all, their advisory committee will remain intact, meeting once a month to track the country's progress. "This is an extraordinary occasion," he said. "It's gone to be a challenging year." Of that, there can be little doubt. Whether the budget puts the Tories in a position to successfully ride it out, though, remains for time to see. ■



THIS ISN'T ILLEGAL

Corner stores want to ban cigs for kids. Oddly, doctors don't.

BY EMILY MORSE • The battle to keep kids from smoking isn't keeping getting stronger. A new study shows that smoking illegal cigs to make the help to reduce youth smoking rates. But oddly, Canada's conservative stance, which make a considerable chunk of their profits from selling cigarettes, support the study's recommendation to ban youth smoking—while some smoking groups, such as Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada, oppose it.

Right now, it's illegal for stores to sell cigs to minors under the age of 18 (19 in some provinces), but that doesn't mean that cigs are illegal for kids to smoke. In fact, while laws against underage drinking are common place, laws against underage smoking only exist in Alberta and Nova Scotia.

A study released in October by the University of Florida and DePaul University in Chicago indicates that the vast majority of young smokers should consider banning youth smoking too. It found that introducing youth possession laws for tobacco is an effective approach to reducing the number of young smokers. Leonard Jason, a psychology professor at DePaul University and co-author of the study, says that banning the sale of tobacco to minors isn't enough. "There are a variety of ways that, if you're addressed, you're going to get tobacco. So you need something else," he says. Jason argues that if young people can't smoke legally because they're afraid of being detected by police, then's less peer

pressure for them to pick up the habit.

The Canadian Cigarette Manufacturers Association (CCMA) agrees. Despite the fact that tobacco produces revenue for 40 to 60 per cent of all typical convenience store's annual sales, the association has campaigned for years to push the provinces to pass legislation banning minors from having or smoking tobacco. The reason? Because the current law puts the onus on the tobacco retailer and not the kids—and convenience store owners are getting sick of being the guinea pigs.

Steve Tennant, vice president of the CCMA, says the provinces should keep the laws making it illegal to sell tobacco to minors, but add new laws to enforce on fire kids for smoking directly. The additional laws are needed, in part, because many kids are buying the wares and buying contraband cigarettes on the black market. "The legislation that we're preparing is a ban that would complement the existing restrictions on tobacco sales to minors, and add a deterrent to contraband sales," Tennant says.

But Dyanne Collins, executive director of the anti-smoking advocacy group Physicians for a Smoke-Free Canada, says the very fact that the CCMA supports such a ban is evidence that it won't work. "I can't overstate how relevant it is that the only people who are pushing for youth possession laws are tobacco companies and tobacco retailers," she says. "That should give anyone pause."

Pushing for stronger legislation is one way for the CCMA to appear dedicated to helping kids stay smoke-free without harming their bottom line, says Collins. After all, retailers are already prohibited from selling to minors, so why wouldn't the law profit under that law? If anyone would get a hit on sales, it would be the contraband cigarette industry, which Tennant says is the CCMA's biggest corporate tobacco sales. "It's an attempt to deflect attention away from the measures that will be really effective," says Collins. "There's no difference to the health of a young person whether they smoke contraband cigarettes sold in a Baggie rather than cigarettes sold in a fancy package."

Collins says that there are limited reasons on available to keep kids from smoking, and those funds would be better spent on education, rather than trying to police the more than 700,000 underage smokers in Canada. Still, the study's findings contradict the anti-smoking group's position, and a recently released Statistics Canada survey shows that the percentage of youth aged 15 to 19 who smoke has levelled off at 15 per cent in recent years. After declining from 18 per cent in 1999. That suggests it may be time for a new strategy. The CCMA will argue it's difficult for the provinces to ignore the fact that they've got one. ■



GIVING COMFORT TO A DOOMED IMMIGRANT

"We wanted him to feel comfortable. We felt that he was someone we could give to him some make idea to meet with his relatives and continue his immigration here for becoming a landed immigrant to Canada and he said, 'Thank you,'"—Juliette van Aggelen, an Immigration officer, at an inquiry into the death of Robert Delibani in 2007 at Vancouver airport, describing the hours leading up to his leaving by the RCMP.

BY ERIN KENNEDY

STYLING: JENNIFER



A MOMENT OF LEVITY In a Riyadh center that administers the Saudi rehab program

vision Harper is the quietest voice

All of which makes the ongoing "deprogram" may or may not be a mission possible—but can you deprogram an extremist? Andrew Silke, a leading forensic science expert who has worked with agencies like the FBI and Lou Davis, its former chief, believe it's possible in some cases. "Most extremists are mentally stable people. They are from a variety of backgrounds, [people] who feel their violence is a just reaction to provocative global events like civilian deaths in Iraq," he says.

In the aftermath of 9/11, when the West became exposed by the psychology of suicide attackers, Silke says a good portion of terror research funding was directed at defining the personality profile of a terrorist. "A profile in something government wants as a single solution to the complex problem," he says. The problem is, there's no indication one exists. Instead, current research even into how environmental and psychological factors combine to radicalize people in the first place. "It's a gradual process," says Silke. "For most, radicalization takes two or three years." Underscore that process should also be sensitive of social and environmental factors. And there is evidence, Silke says, that rehabilitation is possible for soft-core members.

The largest deradicalization initiative in the coalition now program is in Iraq, which began in 2007 to handle more than 14,000 detainees. It is a program's progress, though, is regarded as the most successful, and the model on which the others are loosely based. The initiative began in the face of a rising internal security threat from Jemaah Islamiyah (an al-Qaeda arm in Southeast Asia) in 2002, after volunteering inmates set out to radicalize recruits to the group. Detainees are encouraged to better themselves with access to a library and academic courses.

But of any of the soft-power experiments to disarm human bombs, the Saudi program has by far been the best funded and most ambitious. Given the most violent extremists housed at the Hayer Center, an Interior Ministry prison turned half-way house in a house outside of Riyadh, open table tennis, PlayStation video games, soccer, swimming, soccer service and an on-site exchange for attending religious education classes whose clerics challenge their deep rooted ideology. For the ones repatriated from Guantanamo, the privileges are shocking compared with life at the U.S. civil base, where longer sentences stand no further.

Finally members of Saudi detainees are excluded in the rehabilitation process, the government and the head of the family both have to sign a pledge renouncing extremism

What's also unique in the thousands of dollars given to some graduates to encourage the prospect of a career, is that they pay for wedding, furniture, a new Toyota.

One of the younger boys of the Saudi program is Ahmed al-Shayeh, a failed suicide attacker who killed nine people and missed 100 more—including himself—in Baghdad during a truck bomb five years ago. Al-Shayeh says he began to change his thinking when a cleric told him that he was not Iraq for wasn't religiously motivated. "There is no jihad. We are just instruments of death," Al-Shayeh told the Associated Press in 2007.

But there are questions. The program's turnaround time is astonishingly short. Most compliant it is 10 to 12 weeks. And how do authorities know a come back in future given the rewards a shortened sentence, a new car? That is one of the hardest questions about this campaign to fight wars with ideas.

Repeated requests by McClatchy to get more detail from the Saudi government regarding the program were ignored, but authorities say roughly 1,000 inmates have voluntarily participated, and only one has been arrested for returning to jihad, and another 15 for security officers' fears leaving the state, which opened two more now. Then again, contradictions: other reports, instead, data measuring the effectiveness of the programs in many countries is unavailable.

The other big problem in assessing their efficacy is that the programs themselves vary wildly. Yemen's, a base-based and poorly funded effort, was suspended temporarily in 2005 over a substantial failure rate after a number of the "rehabilitated" turned up in Iraq, where they had formerly joined the insurgency. Singapore, by comparison, has been quite successful in curbing the Jemaah Islamiyah network after authorities conducted two major arrests in 2002. Of 35 inmates detained, at least 12 have been released after undergoing religious counseling and counseling with psychologists, case officers and their families to discuss programs.

Some experts acknowledge the Saudi program is more holistic in its approach, compared with programs where the only thing addressed is ideology. But not everyone is impressed. "It given me no confidence that the Saudis are equipped, let alone seriously disposed to bring about a shift in the behavior of its extremist thinking," says David Harris, a terrorism expert at the former CBS chief of strategic planning. Harris believes deprogramming is possible but questions the kingdom's commitment to conducting evidence, citing as an example the government appointment of Abdul Rahman al-Sudani, chief imam of the Grand Mosque of Mecca. Al-Sudani is hostile toward non-Muslims

and has called Jews "the scum of the earth," and "murderers and pigs."

"Which our civilizing we don't want to be," which may be admirable from fighting and violence and non-violence," says Harris. "It sounds progressive, but then I wake up. It points out that the association for establishing these programs were widely deployed on the country, and that the Saudi program is a face-value measure to placate the West

of content, says Al-Sudani of al-Qaeda's Umar al-Faruqi in Cairo, the former master of learning for Yemeni Muslims. He says a fanatic may have while using the Quran to understand but can struggle to interpret their meaning. "Jihad isn't all several meanings. One of them is to fight, but to fight on a legitimate battlefield. So what does your aim doing is not jihad," he says. "Jihad is to strive for anything good in yourself. To fight your own desires."



"VIOLENCE CANNOT BE FOUGHT WITH VIOLENCE," SAYS A REFORMED JIHADIST



THE U.S. has pledged to shut down Guantanamo and may consider a rehab program

after the 9/11 inquiry identified the kingdom as the primary source of al-Qaeda's funding. Transparency in Saudi Arabia, he adds knowing the U.S. scholars are who interpret the Quran with desires in mind, because the Quran is a highly influential.

Significantly, in contrast, to much more aggressive measures to make the program. That of Saudi Arabia has all these deradicalization programs and America intends to work with you do you think is going to happen to those prisoners that have gone through the program? ■

TO DEPROGRAM A JIHADIST

Rehab didn't work for al-Qaeda's deputy in Yemen. Can it work for any terrorist?

BY ROHAN MOHAMMAD • News last week that Saudi Ali al-Shayeh, a former associate of Guantanamo, had emerged as al-Qaeda's deputy leader in Yemen ignited debate on how to deal with prisoners held in the U.S. run detention camp in Cuba. But al-Shayeh's nameless raised other interesting questions as well. In 2007, the U.S. released him to Saudi Arabia, where he underwent a multi-tiered program for prisoners that clearly didn't take. In the past, Saudi authorities have consistently claimed that none of its deradicalization graduates have returned to terrorism in the five years since the program was established. But after al-Shayeh's story began circulating, authorities admitted that none seem to have returned. Despite the failure, Time has reported, the

Pentagon won't change its policy on repatriating Guantanamo's most dangerous detainees to the kingdom even though the Saudi program has been called into question.

Saudi Arabia is one of several countries running ambitious deradicalization programs in which Islamic radicals try to lead radicals to moderation. Similar initiatives are running in Egypt, Singapore, Iraq, Libya, Yemen, Jordan, Malaysia, Guyana, Russia, the Netherlands and Indonesia. Canada could be next. Omar Khadr's lawyers have filed a proposal with the military commander at Guantanamo to have the alleged terrorist undergo a special level of deradicalization program that he never went to Canadian soil, they've asked Hiram, chief of the Canadian Council of Islamic, to cause a rehabilitation plan. Even without a request from Stephen Harper for Khadr's repatriation, the proposal (which includes years of psychological treatment and a formal education) is a step closer to reality than Guantanamo's closed-door Khadr's case may be discussed when President Barack Obama

reopening dialogue, something he says he never supported—and his release from prison in 2004, his "new jihad" is rehabilitating extremists in Indonesia. "Violence cannot be fought with violence no," he says. "You can only be extinguished by water."

For al-Shayeh, soft power didn't seem to work. But there are no guarantees a dip in the pool is any more effective than a waterboarding exercise in inspiring a change of attitude. And as the battle to win over "Islamic radicals," governments scramble on trying something beyond just cutting and killing terrorists. However, experts like Silke think that environment doesn't what happens next, and the organization or its treatment of groups will continue to be as much its most powerful resource.

"A lot of the time when we look at a terrorist we put the responsibility of violence on the individual. We don't look at the environment around them," says Silke, using an intense scenario to make his point. "What of Saudi Arabia has all these deradicalization programs and America intends to work with you do you think is going to happen to those prisoners that have gone through the program?" ■

REHAB: JEMAL NASSIR/GETTY; HAYAT: JEMAL NASSIR/GETTY

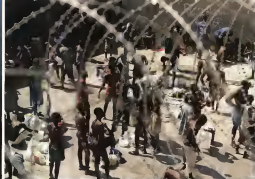


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AN INMATE LOOKS OUT from his cell in the prison in San Pedro de Macoris (left), the overcrowded Martiñel National Prison in Port-au-Prince (right).

HAITIAN NIGHTMARE

Canadians are stuck in Haiti's prisons, without due process

BY MICHAEL PETROU • Brenda Martin's two years and two months at the Patrice Gaudet women's prison near Gonaïves, Mexico, was no doubt a punishing uniformity of days and nights. She was placed on watch twice last March, and her despair was apparent to anyone who listened to her speak to the media from prison.

But Martin, who was charged and eventually accused of money laundering by Mexican authorities, was also the subject of an unprecedented and highly publicized campaign by Canadian politicians to have her released. Liberal MP Don McKague recently called for government intervention in Martin's case. Jason Kenney, secretary of state for multiculturalism, twice visited Martin in jail. Conservative MP Rick Macklay joined him on one of those trips. Prime Minister Stephen Harper called Mexican President Felipe Calderón to ask for his help on the issue. Even Piñel Martin, the former prime minister, visited Martin while he was in Mexico for a conference. When a deal was eventually negotiated for Martin's transfer to a

Canadian prison, the government sent a prison car to retrieve her, at a cost to taxpayers of more than \$80,000. The Canadian government also agreed to pay her \$3,461 fine. She was released on parole from Grand Valley Institution for Women in Kitchener-Waterloo, Ont., last May, about a week after arriving, and is now free.

Canadian politicians had cause to intervene in Martin's case. That she was jailed for more than two years before her case was judged reflects flaws in the Mexican judicial system. But the fact remains that in Mexico the rule of law prevails to a greater extent than it does in much of the world—including countries where incarcerated Canadians languish in worse conditions, anonymously. Canadian politicians don't mention their names, let alone by across a continent to see them.

Last February, Martin's cousin the National Penitentiary in Port-au-Prince, Haiti—a country that received more than \$180 million worth of aid from Canada every year. The prison stinks of human waste that overflows from latrines in the open-air yard. Men and boys are crowded into cages so small, in such large numbers, that there is not room for everyone to sleep at the same time. Inmates fight, bribe and do anything necessary to get a space near

one of the windows high on the cell walls. Over doors, they tie themselves to the bars with scraps of cloth that have been made and sometimes prevent them from crawling to the floor when they fall asleep. During the day they stare through the bars into the open yard with eyes drained of hope.

Few have been formally charged, and it would hardly matter if they were. A United Nations mission, with significant help from Canada, is working to reform Haiti's justice system. But it is still broken, and lacks everything from police who can read and speak well enough to fill out reports and sample evidence, to judges, and vehicles that might transport prisoners to court.

When Macklay visited the prison, three Canadians were among the more than 1,000 inmates. "Drugs and other crap," a prison official explained. There have been others in April, Macklay's first access to information request with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, asking for information on Canadians incarcerated at Haiti since 2006. Foreign Affairs responded in the end of September with more than 600 pages of documents, mostly news from Canada's embassy in Port-au-Prince. Because the names of all prisoners have been deleted, it's impossible to know

exactly how many there have been. But more than 15—most of them black—in a safe estimate. One had been jailed for 27 months without receiving any clothes. Another, a woman, had been jailed for 18 months but had not been formally sentenced.

The documents reveal that Canadian diplomats in Haiti are actively engaged in the cases of Canadians jailed there. Canada's ambassador, Claude Bouchard, and other Canadian diplomats, regularly meet with and pressure Haitian political leaders and officials in the Haitian National Police. They ask that case-involving Canadians be dealt with quickly and without process. Sometimes they can get jailed Canadians moved to less crowded prisons. But their influence is limited. One memo notes that all of 30

visits are scheduled every three months. This didn't happen in the summer of 2007, according to one memo, because of staff shortages and preparations for Prime Minister Stephen Harper's visit. The embassy also corresponds with lawyers, friends, and relatives on prisoners' behalf. On occasion, the embassy pays for prisoners' food and basic medical supplies—although a July 2006 memo said this could only be done if the embassy has exhausted



THE CASE OF MARTIN, A WHITE WOMAN, RAISED A FUROR. BUT HAITI'S PRISONERS ARE BLACK AND POOR.

all other options and promised to reimburse the money. Many memos cited in the embassy memos list Canada wasn't doing enough to help them.

"It's the case with... who alternated between speaking angrily and bursting into tears throughout the visit," reads one memo from January 2006, referring to an incarcerated Canadian whose name is deleted. "He told me he said that he was fine but that he was now in his fourth day of detention and did not have enough to eat... He further as-

serted that he wants to return to Canada and do prison there. I suggested that there is no transfer-of-prisoners treaty between the two countries and told him that it would be up to his lawyer to work for his freedom or departure now."

But consular lawyers are often not available. A memo from December 2007 describes a jailed Canadian as "conservatively depressed" because he had no money to hire one. "He doesn't understand why the embassy cannot hire a lawyer on his behalf." It was explained that this is not a service that is provided by the Canadian government for any Canadian citizen, whether in Canada or abroad. He gradually accepted that we cannot legal aid to do this available to anyone in a similar situation but had no experience. However, with no funds this is all he could do to make it. Other reports describe dispondent prisoners, without money to buy food or clothing, risk food prison food not lonely because their family and friends in Haiti must come to see them. One alleges abuse by Haitian police.

In September Liberal MP Martin's daughter called the embassy in November 2006 to inquire about a detained Canadian, and the office of Liberal MP Ujjal Senoo was also in touch. Jason Kenney made numerous inquiries, and he had planned a meeting with Haiti's ambassador to Canada to discuss a particular detainee, Mordine Bernier, who he was bringing relatives, raised the issue of Canadian detainees with Haiti's ministers of foreign affairs during a trip to Haiti in February. But there is no evidence that a politician actually visited a prisoner in a Haitian jail. And not once did Canada's charter get to a free released prisoner home.

It is difficult to consider why Canadian politicians were so eager to help Brenda Martin, but comparatively less vocal Canadian officials in Haiti, without conducting that political grandstanding played a role. Canadians detained in Haiti are arguably more deserving of government intervention than those in Mexico. Conditions are as bad or worse, and the judicial process that got there is weaker.

But Brenda Martin, a white woman, had friends who publicized her plight, and journalists put her story on the evening news. After that, public attention from politicians was inevitable. Canadians jailed in Haiti are mostly black and, judging by their lack of funds for lawyers, food, and clothing, poor. Canadian politicians can safely ignore them. Most do. ■

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MICHAEL PETROU AND MICHAEL PETROU FOR THE TORONTO STAR

LOST IN SOMALIA

New peace talks may be the best hope for kidnapped journalists

BY JONATHAN GATHEKHE AND CATRY DILLI • Abdullahi Mohamed Diri has been free for almost two weeks, but his mind is still troubled. "I can't sleep. I can't sleep. I just walk around," he says from his Mogadishu home. For 141 days, the Somali photographer was held in a dark room, cut off from the outside world, and allowed only the coarsest exchanges with his captors. But since his sudden release on the night of Jan. 15, it is the face of the foreign journalists he was guarding when he was snatched last June that haunts him. "I am very worried for my colleagues," he says in a soft voice. "I wish that they will be free."

On the morning of Aug. 30, the Topica Lead Cruiser carrying Diri, Lindhout and Freeman was stopped by a group of gun-toting men on the road just past the British checkpoint on the outskirts of the former Somali capital. Diri and Freeman were also kidnapped. They were blindfolded and stuffed in another vehicle. It was the last they saw, each hand, of their foreign friends. "I tried to find out, but my guards told me 'don't ask us that question,'" says Diri. "I am very sorry. I am very sorry."

The last public view of Lindhout, 32, and Freeman, 35, freelance reporters hoping to end their careers by reporting from one of the world's most dangerous places, came a week after their kidnapping, surrounded by masked gunmen in a grainy video released to the Al-Jazeera television network. Their captives—identified in the tape as the Mayahlele of Somalia, an Islamic militant—were understood by those close to the situation to actually be a criminal gang led by a member of the Duda. He has since—officially—denied US\$1 million for their release. The figure was quickly halved. Now, according to a local press advisory group, the Somali Journalists Rights Agency, the ransom stands at just \$100,000.

It's not clear what spurred the kidnappers to release their Somali captives and demand a hefty ransom—only price for the foreign press. "Allah saved me," is all Diri will say. (His brother Mohamed, who was last kidnapped, was ready to fight for his son's freedom, almost willing to discuss the lives and souls of his children.) "I can't explain it to you how this happened," he says. "Please don't ask me anymore about

this." But the political landscape in the anarchic nation—where a functioning central government for most of the past two decades—has again shifted in recent weeks. Neighboring Ethiopia, which invaded in December 2006, with America's blessing, to push out the radical Islamic Courti Ugaas, found itself battling a growing insurgency and completed the withdrawal of its 1,000 troops last week. Its ally, the Western-backed Transitional Federal Government (TFG), ruled by ousting, is on the verge of collapse, as fighters from the Islamic al-Shabab group took control of its capital, Baidoa. And a 5,000-strong force of African Union peacekeepers, which was supposed to take the TFG's place, is so far showing little desire

development for the families of Lindhout and Freeman, peace talks between the moderate factions, dubbed the Diirbari process, between a crucial person. (A new comprehensive government is formed, diirbari means including the one believed to be holding the journalists, can be slowly moved into the tent, says Mohamed.) "They will still want money, but they will also be convinced to release them as an act of goodwill."

One Western security consultant specializing in Somalia, who did not want to be named, agrees that the al-Shabab withdrawal changes the dynamic, making it easier to reach enter calm deals. But he doubts that more fighting can be avoided with 13 major armed groups primed and ready to go. The situation remains too dangerous for even the bravest and organizations, he points out. CARE, the largest NGO in Somalia, has shut down its operations, and the United Nations World Food Program last week threatened



THEY MAY STILL WANT MONEY, BUT AN ACT OF GOODWILL IS POSSIBLE

to flee the nation.

"The police isn't going to end the fighting, but it has changed it," says Ken Menkhaus, an African anthropologist at North Carolina's Davidson College. When the Ethiopian came under attack, they tended to respond forcefully and indiscriminately, he says, shooting and shelling anyone in the vicinity. TFG troops were more experienced and prone to looting. Now, with both forces gone from Mogadishu, residents are starting to trickle back to their battered neighborhoods. "The city still isn't secure, but the violence isn't as unpredictable from a Somali point of view," says Menkhaus.

And in what may be the most hopeful



to abandon the country after two of its local workers were killed earlier in the month. "The crystal ball for Somalia has been smashed," the security consultant says.

Just what the Canadian government is doing to assist Lindhout's release is unclear. Foreign Affairs in Ottawa refuses to comment on the situation beyond statements about pursuing "all appropriate channels." But the security consultant has some free advice for Canada's diplomats and decision makers. "Let it \$100,000 is the best deal they are going to get," he says, noting that kidnapping and piracy remain Somalia's only real industries. "And at the end of the day everybody pays." ■

Mystic leads killing spree in Congo

BY ALEXANDRA GRIMO • Since a break-down at peace talks with the Ugandan government last December, the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) has headed, better to do or better alive more than 600 people in the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Ugandan rebel group has also abducted an estimated 100 children since Christmas. They reportedly take the girls as slaves, and even the boys to be child soldiers. In the last week alone, an LRA patrol entered a crowded church in the village of Tira in eastern Congo around midnight and set fire to the building, trapping many of the worshippers inside. The number of people who were killed or injured in the attack is not yet known.

The group is led by its self-proclaimed mystic Joseph Kony, who claims to meddle the LRA on the Bible's Ten Commandments. Believed to be only around a thousand strong and lacking support from the local population, the group's members are currently skilled in basic warfare and tend to looter and then regroup when under attack. They have controlled their brutal reign of killing, raping and robbing the locals, despite recent attacks by the armies and militias of Uganda, southern Sudan and Congo, which are working together in an effort to put an end to the brutal attacks.

The LRA has a horrific record since its was created in 1989, with 20 years ago, they are believed to have killed and maimed more than 10,000 people and abducted 20,000 children. Those who are released are often badly disfigured or have their lips chopped off to scare them into silence. At least one million civilians have been displaced and forced to flee their homes since the attacks began.

In 2006 the militia were Kony emerged led, calling himself "a man of peace," he agreed to a truce with the Ugandan army. But after more than two years of peace negotiations, the peace talks broke down. Kony, who is wanted by the International Criminal Court for war crimes, has now demanded that any peace warrants for him and his associates be dropped within an agreement can be struck. ■

UNDER KONY'S rule, the LRA has killed or maimed 10,000



UNDER KONY'S rule, the LRA has killed or maimed 10,000

Financial crisis topples Iceland's PM



ICELAND HAS been rocked by protests since its banks imploded

BY PATRICIA TREMBLE • After weeks of increasingly angry demonstrations, the government of Iceland has collapsed. Protesters, furious at how the country's economy has been handled, finally got some satisfaction when Prime Minister Geir Haarde resigned on Monday, becoming the first world leader to lose power as a direct result of the global financial crisis.

Iceland was the fifth richest nation as a per capita basis in 2007, but now it is in the midst of a total economic meltdown. Last fall, its banks, which had gone on an aggressive foreign expansion spree, are closed and had to be nationalized. As a result, its currency went into free fall and many of Iceland's 320,000 citizens, who had taken on debt in foreign currencies, saw their savings evaporate. By November the situation was so dire that Iceland defaulted for a US\$1.1-billion loan from the International Monetary Fund and saw a second US\$8 billion from neighboring nations to sustain national bankruptcy.

For Icelanders, the news keeps getting worse. The economy is expected to contract by 5.6 per cent this year, with inflation up to 13 per cent. The unemployment level, which was under two per cent in October, is forecast to (sooner or later) reach 10 per cent. Little wonder that the consumer confidence index has plummeted from 115 to 49 in a year, and that half of the country's citizens are now thinking of leaving their homeland.

It's still not clear how the nation's disgruntled political parties will form a new government, let alone solve the economic mess. In the meantime, Iceland's president has asked Ingibjörg Gunnarsdóttir, leader of the Social Democratic Alliance, to try to form a responsible coalition government with the Left Green party and in election this spring. ■

'Stewmaker' dissolved 300 in acid baths

BY KATE ANDERSON • They call him El Presidente ("the Stewmaker"), a macabre tribute to his grisly trade. Arrested last week in Tijuana, Mexico, Santiago Mena Lopez has admitted to dissolving more than 300 bodies in acid over the past 10 years. His victims, he said, were the corpses of a drug lord who paid him \$700 per week to dispose of his human remains. Mena Lopez claims he only dissolved men, refusing to dispose of female bodies this way.

It's the latest gruesome story to emerge from Mexico, which is on the grip of a brutal drug war. On Jan. 12, the severed head of a police chief was found in an ice cooler outside a police station near Ciudad Juarez [across the border from El Paso], reportedly left there in a warning to local officials. It was one of 15 cartoon-style killings in the area within 24 hours, the Mexican newspaper El Universal reported. On top of that, in December, eight officials and a police chief were found brutally killed in Guerrero state.



IF MEXICO doesn't contain its drug wars, it's at risk of collapse

Elected in 2006, Mexican President Felipe Calderon has made cracking down on the drug trade a priority. As his campaign has unfolded, though, so has the bloodshed. More than 5,400 people died in drug-related violence last year, double the number from 2007. If it's not contained, experts caution, Mexico could become a failed state. Outgoing CIA director Michael Y. Hayden has named the problems in Mexico and Iran among the most urgent for the new U.S. government. And the U.S. Joint Forces Command has singled out Mexico and Pakistan as two states at risk of "total and sudden collapse."

Police say many of Mena Lopez's victims were sent in the drug trade, and were kidnapped for ransom. Relatives at the station are now hoping to have him photos of their loved ones, to use if they can be identified. "It'll be as good as when I know where my son's body is," one man told reporters. ■

There are various definitions of precisely what middle class. The simplest is those who fall in the middle third of the income distribution. In Canada, that's a broad category, with incomes ranging from as low as \$15,000 (which is about the cut-off for a low-income family of four living in a large city) to as high as \$90,000. During the early post-war decades, this was a group that, generally speaking, was becoming more optimistic. Incomes were rising, and there was reason to think they'd keep. But when sociologists and economists talk about this group today, they inevitably point to one very troubling trend: over the past 25 years, middle-class incomes haven't grown at all. In 1980, the median family income was \$52,000. In 2006, over a quarter of a century later, that number had actually dropped to \$52,700. (Both figures are expressed in 2005 dollars to remove the effects of inflation.)

This doesn't mean everyone has been making money, though. As it is, it adds up to injury, while median incomes have stagnated, those of the wealthy have been shooting up. "If you look at the income distribution of the whole, the winners over the past 25 years have been the people at the very top," says Charles Berch, an economist at Queen's University. "In the '80s, '90s and '70s, the view was that rising incomes for all meant 'But lately, the only

ones that have gone up much are the ones at the very top and at the income distribution.' Between 1982 and 2004, for instance, the average income of the top 10 per cent of families has jumped by 54 per cent, or by \$15,000. For the top five per cent, according to a report from the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, the average income has jumped by almost 44 per cent.

Not surprisingly, as the incomes of the wealthy have been shooting up, middle-class families have been earning a smaller and smaller piece of the pie. In 1972, the middle 60 per cent of families accounted for about 57 per cent of all income earned in Canada. By 2006 that number had dropped to 33 per cent, says Roger Stueve,

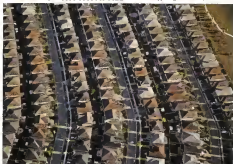
president of People Patterns Consulting. It gets worse. Not only the middle class earning less compared to those higher up on the wealth scale, but they're working harder for what they get. For proof, look no further than the long hours families now work to maintain their middle-class existence. The number of two-income families

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, the poverty rate for a family with one income earner in Canada is a whopping 23 per cent, compared to just four per cent if two people work.

Earning twice as the middle class lifestyle at first becoming an uphill battle with constant demands. One Vancouver teacher says that at one time, he and his wife, who's also a teacher, would have had the kind of household income that put them into the realm of the upper class. But in the current economy, they can't even afford what has become a luxury item in their city: their own home.

"That two professionals, at a decent point in their careers, can't afford a starter house in Vancouver—that's frustrating," he says.

The truth is the middle class squeeze has been happening for decades, but it's been



TO KEEP UP their standard of living, many middle-income families are consolidating the equity in their homes

has soared as well over 70 per cent, from just 30 per cent in the 1970s. That means in most households, both parents need a job to pay the mortgage—so they are logging more the work hours to maintain a standard of living that was easily affordable as a single income a few decades ago. Plus, having two working parents often necessitates extra costs like child care, which can run upwards of \$1,000 a year per child, and a second car or commute to two jobs. At the end of the day, even double incomes aren't the panacea they once were.

If you brashly try to build a one-income family—of the sort that was commonplace in the 1960s—a middle-class life might be out of reach altogether. According to the

hidden from view and papered over by a buoyant economy. As long as unemployment was low and credit was easy, middle-income earners could fool themselves into thinking that they were making progress. If they didn't have the money for a bigger house or a second car, they could always borrow it. It helped that economists and other expert goods from places like CNN were telling us that the economy was going to go faster and faster.

But now the economy is in recession. The illusion is collapsing, and the plight of the middle class has been laid bare. "Household debt suggests that middle-income families have run out of gas," says Hugh Mackenzie, an editorial and research associate with the

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Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. They're "working more to maintain their standard of living and are basically consuming the equity in their homes."

In the U.S., that crash has become painfully obvious. Last year alone, there were 2.5 million foreclosure proceedings. And while Canada's housing situation is not nearly so severe, an 11 per cent drop in year-over-year home prices in November plus recent job losses suggest that we're following the U.S. into a period that will take a heavy toll on the middle-class way of life.

What makes the prognosis especially bleak is that economists say the middle class might not rebound when the recession is over. "If you look back at what happened in the last two severe recessions [in the early '80s and

might have to sell his house, where he's currently living with his wife and son, to cover all the costs. His wife works a clerical job at a medical clinic ("Thank God," he says), but even so, without his job, life will suddenly get much harder.

In fact, the rising cost of education is quickly becoming one of the biggest barriers between the poor and the middle class. It can make earning a professional degree nearly impossible for the working poor. Even for the middle class, it can be a challenge. The yearly tuition fees for medical school are now more than \$15,000, triple what they were just a decade ago. Even the cost of a basic undergraduate degree has skyrocketed. Twenty years ago, sending a child to university for a year would have cost roughly \$5,000

once programs, for instance, are harder to get, last for less time and pay less, says Lars Osberg, an economist at Dalhousie University in Halifax who studies income inequality. "So there isn't anything like the safety net that existed in the last two really big recessions," Canada, in fact, now spends less such as unemployment and family benefits than most developed countries, according to the OECD.

Chanson is aware of all of this first hand, but he's stuck about housing. Even before he was laid off, he had been facing the squeeze growing tighter for years. Now he doesn't hold any illusions that a return to the good old days is right around the corner. When he first started working for AGS 13 years ago, life was good. With overtime and



IN THIS RECESSION, not only are jobs disappearing, but the plants are closing too.

(with tuition and living expenses). Today, it's upwards of \$12,000, says MacKenzie. Meanwhile, financial aid for students is getting increasingly scarce. The cut-off level for university loans and bursaries is now "well below what people would consider to be a middle-income level," MacKenzie says.

In countries like Canada, the government has historically played an important role keeping the hopes of many middle-class families afloat. But as social programs have been cut back, many middle-class families have been left in the cold. Employment issues

other incentives, "you could write your own paycheck," he says. But for much of the last decade, his pay has been frozen at about \$20 an hour. "It's been a slow wind-down for the last six years or so," he says.

Like millions of others, he's slowly realizing that the changes he used to take for granted—the house, the car, the little first-born—are now only promised to a smaller group of educated professionals that he's not part of. Certainly, he's not banking on ever making a good living in the auto sector again. "I would think those days are gone." ■

IF YOU FALL OUT OF THE MIDDLE CLASS, IT'S NOW HARDER THAN EVER TO GET BACK IN

[You], you find that both the real incomes of the middle class declined, as did the share of middle-class incomes declined," says Beach. But when the recession ended, those job losses were largely recovered. This time around, not only are the jobs disappearing, but the plants that supported them are closing too. "People don't get recalled to work at jobs where the plant doesn't exist any more," says MacKenzie. Because of that, economists say that real recovery in income and job losses could be a decade away.

There's never a good time to lose your job, but for those unlucky enough to fall from the comfort of the middle class, getting back in is now harder than ever. Troubling signs are beginning to emerge that there's less mobility between the working poor and the middle class than there used to be, so even you're out, it could be for life.

Certainly that's been the experience of Dave Chanson. Three months ago, he was laid off from his job at AGS Automotive in Oshawa, where he worked making bumpers for Chrysler and General Motors. At age 47, he went back to school to get his Grade 12 certification. Now, he's thinking of enrolling in a college program to learn a new trade. He hopes to sign on to a government program that will provide him with some financial support while he goes back to school. But the worry that won't be enough. He says he will



NEW STEWARDNESS DUTY: KEEPING CREW AWAKE

India's civil aviation authority has approved a new workplace aid for pilots who fall asleep while on duty. Flight attendants have been ordered to have a lively talk with pilots every half-hour to ensure they stay awake. The measure has been sparked by recent incidents of airlines flying off their flight paths because pilots were dozing. The aviation authority says this is not a problem and that it's normal to get drowsy in cockpits.



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STEVE MACH

"When President Barack Obama made his inaugural address to the world last week, I searched for an explicit appeal to the virtue of sacrifice and sacrifice to help ensure the economy to health. It is the willingness of workers who would suffer our loss in their own life that is the virtue of sacrifice."

The message was particularly potent in light of our current economic difficulties. The initial toll of the recession continues to mount across North America and around the world. Over two million Americans have lost their jobs since this recession began and last week, within 48 hours of Obama's inaugural address, Microsoft, Intel and IBM revealed plans to cut thousands of jobs in Canada. Japan's topped 100,000 in November and December alone.

In this environment, it seems only sensible that companies and workers should be looking for ways to escape the self-inflicted pain of job cuts. Rather than cutting 10 per cent of its workforce, why wouldn't a company instead offer to temporarily not back wages by 10 per cent? And given that option, why wouldn't workers enthusiastically embrace it? Back in the mid 1980s, MIT professor Martin Weitzman asked a question that is usually called The Silent Economy in which he argued that recessions would be shorter and less devastating if companies and workers agreed to share wages in the good times, and to trim them back in lean years, reducing the boom-bust cycle of the job market.

This would save companies millions in lay-off costs, shore up consumer confidence and ward off the threat of stagflation in which economic growth stalls, even as prices rise. And yet, the idea simply hasn't taken off. So far, there has been only one high-profile example of a major employer, trucking company TSC, Worldwide, instituting a 10 per cent wage rollback to avoid layoffs. A few months ago, he had's minister of finance called on that country's civil servants to volunteer for a temporary 10 per cent pay cut, in order to save \$5 billion on the public purse and to avoid public sector job cuts. As of last week, exactly 25 of the country's 175,000 civil servants had stepped forward to accept the wage reduction.

This same nation is playing itself out throughout the economy. The business associa-

tion (the National Association of Manufacturers) and found just six per cent are planning pay cuts, whereas close to 14 per cent expect to slash jobs this year. When cut is not needed, the vast majority of businesses tell us for the cut is over the scalp.

If there's one industry where you'd think a little wage elasticity would be welcome, it's the aerospace. It's frequently said that a key problem for the North American aerospace is the fact that, even after the recession made in the last round of aerospace sales, they have substantially higher labour costs than their foreign-based rivals. Still, both the



Wage cuts are even worse for morale than layoffs

United Auto Workers and Cadillac have been steadily rejected the idea that wage elasticity might be part of Detroit's solution. More surprising is the fact that GM isn't pursuing the same. Just last week, GM's chief executive officer said in efforts to trim costs would not include a wage rollback for its factory workers. GM, Chrysler and Ford are expected to shed close to 50,000 employees this year, and yet pay cuts are not even on the table. What gives?

The answer to this riddle can be found in a little-known 1999 book by Yale University economist Thomas Bewley. Entitled *Why Wages Don't Fall During Recession*, the author interviewed more than 100 executives, union leaders, managers and HR experts as an attempt to understand the mystery of why companies consistently opt for the expensive

and complicated exercise of severing work, rather than negotiating lower salaries.

The conventional wisdom, Bewley points out, is that executives are the prime obstacle to negotiated pay cuts. Unions often primarily defend the rights and interests of senior workers, and make those more established workers tend to make the most money, and layoffs generally target newer arrivals, they are far more willing to accommodate a major layoff than to consider anything that would reduce the income of their longest-serving members. There may be some truth to that, but unions only represented about 15.5 per cent of the U.S. workforce as of 2007, and that number is falling. Clearly union resistance isn't the key factor.

In fact, Bewley found that the strongest resistance came not from workers, but from the companies themselves, and the reasons are surprising. For one thing, he says, wage rollbacks are actually worse for worker morale than layoffs. When workers are laid, it generally sends a sense of disavowal through the ranks. But when the affected employees are paid, and after a few weeks, things return more or less to normal. In contrast, when wages are cut, bad feelings fester in the office for months as employees grumble and debate whether they've been mistreated by management, and when they'll get their "real" full payback back. Strangely, it is at major, senior, employee-levels it's actually less disruptive to simply fire people.

There are also reasons of efficiency and competitive advantage, Bewley says. Cutting wages sends the loud message a company will be willing to having its best people recruited away by competitors. And while all HR people will tell you that a happy workplace is a successful workplace, a little bit of fear can have advantages. Fearless though it may be, studies indicate that staff work harder when they feel their jobs are at risk. Nothing focuses the mind quite like seeing the guy in the next cubicle get laid off a few weeks hence.

That's why Sean McMillan, an industry expert with the Center of Automotive Research, predicts last week that there would be more layoffs in the auto industry in the coming months, but relatively modest contract concessions will leave pay scales basically intact. This will be done, he said, "with the collusion" of the UAW, as both management and union leadership agree that layoffs are more palatable than broad pay reductions. Once GM's call for willingness was inspiring it once made economic sense. But on this particular point, he likely will be disappointed. Volunteer for a pay cut? No we can't. But we probably won't. ■

steve.mach@mcclains.com

Super Bowl ads: more than bikinis

BY JOHN HENRY • A few years ago, FedEx delivered a 22-point solution to a problem that has plagued marketers for decades: how do you make a perfect Super Bowl commercial? Impressively, the shipping company delivered at less than 45 seconds, with a famous 2007 Super Bowl spot starring Britney Spears. According to the ad, all that's needed is a celebrity, an animal, a dancing monkey, a cute kid, a truck in the snow, a tale of natural attraction, friends, a product message (optional), a famous pop song (if you wish), Don't Stop Believing by Journey and a happy ending.

Of course the real formula is a little more scientific. Tom Collins, a marketing professor from Northwestern University's Kellogg School of Management, has spent the last 15 years trying to pull it down. On Feb. 2, Collins will gather about 40 marketing students together to rate the commercials (and perhaps watch a bit of football).

The resulting review, published annually since 2005, is based on a strategic set of criteria that's designed to identify the ads most likely to increase sales and enhance the brand. "We're less worried about creativity and humour on its own and more worried about which ads are building the bottom line," says Collins. "It's not about making a funny spot that is to make a funny spot that sells the product."

The most successful Super Bowl ads from a business perspective, he says, are those that break through with the end of the ad, starting very quietly and it completely faded because there was Unilever's real beauty ad in 2006. Who knew that a commercial about women and self-esteem, says Collins, would be a hit during the Super Bowl?

"It may say more about life than this year, considering the economic climate. Collins says he wouldn't be shocked if a new animal ad was a top performer. "Advertisers will have to work not to be too funny and too out of touch," he says. Then again, like FedEx, they might just hire a guy in a bear suit to look like Barney the Dinosaur before the game. ■

"They tell a funny joke. And they make the spot all about the product. You can't sell a story about their all without mentioning the brand."

Other marketers can get too caught up in pushing attention, and forget that they're trying to sell. In 2005, for instance, McDonald's ad starring Michael Jordan and Larry Bird was hugely popular with viewers. The problem was it was the concept, putting the two well-known basketball stars against one another, which was his to Big Mac. Many people, when asked, thought it was for Nike due to Jordan's close association with the basketball star. That was especially bad for Bird, who was a former member of the team.

This year, more than 60 ads will vie for attention on a night when people are just as likely to be watching the commercials as they are the main event between Pittsburgh and Arizona. And the stakes, given the sticky economy and this year's record per tag for the average 30-second 30-second spot, are the highest they've ever been.

With nearly 100 million Americans tuning in, the ads have to be "broadly relevant," says Collins. "What worked during the regular season—bikinis and, well, more bikini—doesn't go over as well on Championship Sunday. The diversity of the audience makes targeting a specific demographic, a common marketing strategy, useless. And, because of the pressure to maximize the number of viewers, marketers can't simply copy a previous campaign forward, remember how successful it was."

It's not just the success of the ads that's at stake, Collins says, but the reputation of the Super Bowl. The most notable was Apple's 2004 spot for the Macintosh, which was a hit. Successful design, he says, is a key to Super Bowl success. "It's not about making a funny spot that sells the product," he says. "It's about making a commercial that's a hit during the Super Bowl."

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Would a \$100-million fine be too much?

BY JAMES KIRBY • \$100 million is a lot of money. Even to Jim Kallitsis and Mike Lawler, the Billerica wonder duo who are the Blackberry wireless execs. For that's the pound of flesh Detroit's attorney general reportedly hopes to extract for Research In Motion's involvement in a stock option backdating scandal. If the penalty seems a little tough, that's because it is.



THE OSC MAY BEAT LUXURY AND BIKINI IS THE LARGEST FINE EVER

In a case in 2006 a special committee of RIM's directors found the company improperly paid more than 13,000 options starting in the mid-1990s. Following the investigation, the company returned its earnings to include a \$250 million after-tax expense, and the two executives repaid proper gains amounting to \$1.4 million, plus legal costs.

There was definitely wrongdoing, but the massive \$100 million fine the Ontario Securities Commission is seeking seems high. "This would be more significant than any fine the commission has previously imposed," says Philip Aronson, a securities lawyer.

The biggest risk the OSC has ever handed out an \$100 million fine to former Kallitsis CEO Michael DeGross and his associates, who paid \$15 million following allegations of insider trading. Other large fines include \$1 million fine on Royal Bank, after the company admitted it misled investors about its financial statements. And last June, Betty Leung, a former legal secretary, was fined \$104,377 over insider trading allegations, an amount equal to twice the profits earned as her trader.

The amounts vary so much because no hard-and-fast rules exist except on how large a negotiated fine should be, says Aronson. When a hearing determines that securities laws have been violated, the commission can impose a penalty of up to \$1 million for each violation. But when it comes to a settlement, the final amount is hammered out in negotiations. "As a matter of principle, why wouldn't it be proportionate to the conduct involved?" he says. "But at this point we don't know what the basis of this fine is being sought." ■



CELEBRITY



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WHERE'S A LAWYER WHEN YOU NEED ONE?

SPECIAL REPORT: Canada's legal system is hobbled by our dearth of law schools

BY KATE LEBLANC Some days, Maria Miller's phone just doesn't stop ringing. People call for her family law practice in Edmonton all day long, trying to find a lawyer to hire, but there aren't any available. "We can't even call them all back. We're too busy," says Miller, a collaborative family lawyer and mediator. "It's really problematic. Even if someone has an emergency situation, or court pending, sometimes you just have to say, 'Good luck, sorry. We're not taking any more clients.'"

Miller's office isn't the only one feeling desperate calls. In Edmonton and Calgary, family lawyers are refusing to take on new cases, keeping closed client lists just as a busy doctor would, says David Percy, dean of the University of Alberta law faculty. "We send out emails saying if other lawyers are taking clients," Miller says, but even if there are some available, "within two weeks, they're booked up." While Alberta's bar association has warned the situation, other parts of the country report they're facing a lawyer shortage, too, especially rural areas.

But Percy, the root of the problem is clear. "Each law school in Canada has been a strong proponent Canada does not graduate enough lawyers," he says. "Predicting wisdom might suggest that fewer lawyers is a good thing, but observers worry it's just the opposite, driving up the cost of legal services by reducing the number of people who can provide them. As with any other product, 'the price of legal services' is a function of supply and demand," says Nina Kravitz, a lawyer and law professor at the University of Ottawa. When it comes to lawyers, "we have a deliberately constrained supply," he says. "Our law schools have that their clients' right."

Over the past 30 years, Canada's population and its need for legal services has grown, yet the number of law students who graduate each year is "virtually unchanged," notes Kravitz. Today, Canada has 16 core law schools, the same number a half dozen decades ago, when the population was smaller by a third. While some schools have opened extra spaces, the impact has been

minimal—in 2006, 3,871 law students were admitted to the profession, just 133 more than a decade before.

John C. Kelly runs Canada Law from Alberta, which trains Canadian students with low schools in the U.S. He says Canada, with a population of over 32 million, has

the lowest number of law schools per capita of any Commonwealth country: in a 2007 survey he found that the U.K. has 29 law schools for a population of nearly 61 million, while Australia has 18 law schools, and 21 offshore people. Naturally, Canada also has a small number of lawyers. Here, there's about one lawyer or notary for every 420 people. In the U.S., it's one lawyer for every 260 people.

It's not that there aren't enough Canadians who want to be lawyers; some faculties get 10 applicants per spot, or more. Getting accepted, then, is a fiercely competitive process. Even at schools that require just two years of undergraduate education to apply, it's hard to find a student without a bachelor's degree in higher arts. At the University of Toronto, where law students must have a B.A., almost one-quarter have a graduate degree, too. The median average for students is 85 per cent. "Academic standards to get into Canadian law schools are far higher than any other common law country I know of," Percy says.

For the thousands of Canadians who don't get accepted each year—many of whom, undoubtedly, would make perfectly fine lawyers—studying abroad isn't an attractive option, and foreign schools are only so happy to take them. Of the 750 law students at Bond University in Australia, over 100 are from Canada. The school even teaches Canadian constitutional law, and will begin offering Canadian corporate and tax law this year. "Not because they're fascinated by it, they've got a market," says Kravitz, executive direc-

tor of the Federation of Law Societies' accreditation committee, who notes that signs are now being taken to make a case for foreign-trained lawyers to practise here. About 200 qualify to work here each year, including Canadians who have studied abroad.

Getting a degree in, of course, just an step to becoming a lawyer. Provincial law societies (lawyers' self-regulating bodies) require new graduates complete a law admission course and training period, yet both vary in length across the country (the course is six months in Alberta, but just six weeks in Nova Scotia, settling requirements vary from somewhere to a year). This suggests "entry requirements

on the money to study abroad" (Bond's Canadian students pay a whopping \$22,000 in tuition alone), says Kelly at an advantage.

In Ontario, where law school status was deregulated in 1997, two-thirds of law students came from the province; 90 per cent of law firms in the province, a 2004 study found, and just 10 per cent from the bottom 40. Meanwhile, about 50 per cent of second-year law students with debt and the money they owe will have a "substantial effect" on their careers, pushing them into high-paying jobs instead of public service, or work in more remote communities.

As Ontario law school tuition skyrocketed,

jobs Canada's University of Toronto, for example, offers Ontario-only bursaries and debt relief programs, which helps students choosing low-income employment to pay off their loans. Schools host public law clinics, run legal aid clinics, and provide other opportunities to learn about what law is all about or work. But some say that money tower could do more to make legal education accessible. Ryerson University is now considering opening a law faculty that would offer flexible, part-time courses, says Julia Hainsburg, a general counsel and secretary of the board. Although part-time law programs are rare in Canada, they might attract a more diverse student

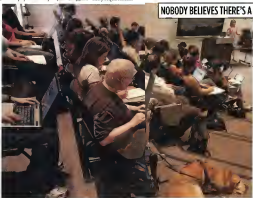
particularly Aboriginal students, if that they want a base closer to home," says president Paul Gilbert, who notes that all six of the province's law schools are in the north.

In fact, LeBlanc was just one of four Ontario students (including Hainsburg) that had new law facilities on the drawing board. But last year, the provincial government denied funding to all of the schools, considering that demand from the student side has increased enough to justify it. In 2007, 4,490 people applied to Ontario law schools, almost 1,000 more than in 10 years before. And the Law Society of Upper Canada warned there may not be enough writing spaces for new students anyway. (LeBlanc's independent survey identified enough writing spaces to meet the needs of the 55 law students it hopes to admit each year, Gilbert says.) Extra funding for law schools is rarely popular with government, notes Kravitz. "Do we say there's not enough residency [positions], so we're not going to train more doctors?"

Despite the growing number of experts who say Canada needs more lawyers, there's one powerful group that disagrees—the lawyers themselves. "It is a surprise to think that the high cost of legal services and problems of access to justice can be solved by simply adding more lawyers to the market," says Malcolm Hogg, CEO of the Law Society of Upper Canada, who notes that legal services are an industry in the U.S., even though they have more lawyers per capita.

But Canada's lawyer supply is so very restricted, and access to justice remains a struggle for so many, that it seems adding more legal services provision must be part of the solution. "We know there's the demand from the student side. We know there's the demand from people who need legal services," Hainsburg says. "One can't help but look at that and say, how can it be that we don't need more lawyers?" ■

With Canada's Attorney General



Nobody believes there's a lawyer shortage, until they need one



CANADA has just 16 common law schools. In Australia, there are 28 law schools, and some are teaching Canadian law

body—new immigrants, mature students returning to the workforce—who'd pursue a more diverse practice of law, the argument. And, because they could work part-time, "they leave law school with smaller debt loads and greater freedom to choose public interest or other lower-paying careers," says David Charlin, a professor at the University of Western Ontario's College of Law. Ironically, attracting a more diverse student body was exactly what Lakeshore University was trying to do. It recently advanced a proposal for a new law school in Thunder Bay, one that would attract northern and Aboriginal students, and train more lawyers in the area. "What we hear from students,

the number of graduates looking to take jobs in lower-paying public law fields (including criminal and family) has taken a dive," says Frank Adkins, president of the Criminal Lawyers' Association. "Top students are finding the money, and relief from law school debt, to be irresistible," he says. A first-year associate in a large private practice firm in downtown Toronto makes up to \$105,000, plus bonuses as high as 30 per cent, according to 2004 Legal Recruitment. In Montreal and Vancouver, base pay is up to \$95,000, and in Calgary it's \$97,000. With salaries like that on offer, who'd want to hang out at a law school?

Law schools have long fought the notion they're merely a conveyor belt to big firms



CAR PRICES LEADS TO TOO MUCH BENCH TIME

Kimber Kennedy, wife of University of Mississippi men's basketball coach Andy Kennedy, is unlikely to court over a lack of sex. In Georgetown, Andy was arrested for allegedly purchasing a land from a mechanical justice, and inserting him to the local media. Kennedy says the driver's claims damaged Andy's enthusiasm for her, resulting in a lack of sex. Accordingly, Kennedy is suing someone—the cab driver Andy is said to have decked.

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MAKE SENSE OF IT ALL

IT'S MY REBACHELOR PARTY

Their marriages over,
these men are letting
loose in order to let go

BY GARY GULLY • Ever wonder what it's like to get someone whose marriage has ended? Consider the gifts recently bestowed upon Mike, soon to be divorced, at his "rebatchelor party." Chateau and built—a symbol of your recovered manhood—as our charm put in. A copy of *The Mystery Method: How to Get Beautiful Women Into Bed* by pickup artist Mystery. "Read the intro and the conclusion now and you can put it to work tonight!" quipped another buddy. A wooden doll, given the name of Mike's ex, which was supposed to make nagging noises when poked with straight pins. (After repeated pokes it was discovered the doll didn't work—perhaps to weary Mike's relief.) And a consigned gay T-shirt with the words "Single again!" emblazoned in navy across the front. Amid the raucous enthusiasm, Mike manically put it on backwards. Matheson's ex-wife said: "His wife used to dress him."

Inside a swanky, wood-paneled lounge in Toronto's financial district, replete with leather high-back chairs, under chandeliers, zoned-off hockey jerseys, pinball games, and a moody painting of a garter and stockings-clad French woman in her boudoir, Mike officially celebrated his second coming into singlehood. His wife left him last summer, less than a year after he had lost his job and his house. (They'd been having trouble and wanted to live in different cities.) The raucous rebachelor party was the perfect antidote—Mike had an excuse to get back into the party, especially women. In letting loose, he started to let go. "It grounded me with a little more closure," he says.

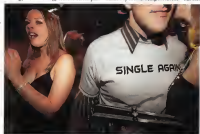
Mike was the only one realizing the benefits of such festivities. A Flickr.com photo collection called "Charles' Rebatchelor Party" documents a celebration of newfound freedom in Austin, Texas. A chef prepared conventional bachelor food with a chic twist, including truffled mushrooms and cheese and gourmet versions of Ben & Jerry's. Guests bounced on an inflatable jumping gym and whacked pinball. There was beer and lots of boozing. Scattered throughout the party were business cards and matchbooks with Charles' telephone number and the words "Call me" scrawled on them. Not to be over-

done by the opposite sex, one woman chatting online with a friend about an upcoming rebachelor party chafed. "After something fabulous, go out with your girlfriends, drink, overstep, and flirt like a tramp."

Parties like these can catch on quickly as the wedding date comes before it, says Nancy Lee, a Toronto relationship therapist. But one thing is critical to their success: "The need to be close from a place of rejecting and self-healing, not with energy focused on the past

in the pain of the breakup." That's not something to celebrate.

Ross believes the need to mark the beginning of a new stage of life is human nature. "In various ways this has been going on for a long time," she says. When she and her husband broke up more than 10 years ago, she and her friends threw a "rebatchelor" party, a ceremony. She thinks the recent trend toward swag, shrew parties is a more optimistic way of embracing the future. "The first



HIS MASN T A divorce party, one man said. That would be like taking pleasure in pain.

or resentment," she says. (Mike's wedding dress was given to him, however.) "It's not a give you party, it's a give you party."

Over the last few years, divorce rates have become popular, but they sometimes have an undercurrent of vengeance. Heather Mills realized her bitter divorce split from Paul McCartney by taking 25 loved ones (including her ex-husband and personal trainer) on a \$422,000 trip to Richard Branson's Caribbean island, all before most of her settlement started rolling in. Mills insists there's a difference between the two types of parties. "A divorce party is understanding to your [former] partner," he says, like taking pleasure

in playing, or even, taking the intensity from sadness into joyfulness [and] focusing on the possibility of new passions, she says.

Mike's rebachelor party was such a far cry from the usual party with a proposition. "The rebachelor party should be used as a model to expand the tag fund," he'd like to see a few baby-sitting jobs, why not introduce more reasons to celebrate? The group was ready with anticipation, there could be some buying wine, home-representation stuff, and lost your job stuff. The possibilities were endless.

"This was a trial balloon," says Mike about his party a week later. "In the future, I think people will be taking it a lot further."



NIGERIA: GOAT SUSPECT A RESULT OF BLACK MAGIC
Police have detained a goat after they were tipped off by local vigilantes. The vigilantes allege that the goat is actually a man, who through the art of black magic has transformed himself into the shape of a goat. After trying to reach a Muslim 123, "the goat is in our custody," a police spokesman says, but he has his doubts. "It is something that has to be proved scientifically, that a human being turned into a goat."

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Gwyneth Paltrow is on a one-woman tour, a food critic and self-help book. She just signed a deal to write a cookbook that focuses on the importance of family dining, to be published next year. It's also rumored she's backing Anderson's New York City gym.

Paltrow arrives in the crowded women's life coaching arena without precedent: Oprah Winfrey's ascendancy dovetailed with the appetite for personal evolution and spiritual self-help. Martha Stewart's wish the doors for home cooking to look curated. Paltrow enters on her own terms, as a happier, more karmically evolved Martha and a first, more domestically plugged-in Oprah. Her Goop

relax-and-hover-at-homecare range, a fashion line, a food range and self-help books. She just signed a deal to write a cookbook that focuses on the importance of family dining, to be published next year. It's also rumored she's backing Anderson's New York City gym.

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"Peace before racing," she wisens "Learn something new. Don't be lazy. Work out and sleep well."

"Sobriety" in a Paltrow manner. Certainly it describes the actress's healthy campaign to establish her life-size home sides with the masses. First, she had to shed her image as an aloof, macabre queen who spends her days slapping pot-colicale kale-and-carrot juice with Stella McCartney. She provided a friendly peek into her \$100,000 \$4-a-million Hampstead house with a separate workout studio in the November 2009 *Monet & Garden*. Last June's promotional tour for *Iron Man*, in which she played

"Pepper" Potts, was deployed to boost her newly toned legs in macro-mass and vegetarian heels. (Bretinas dubbed the strapless to initiate her footwear the "Gwyneth effect.") She used her vegan rap—and rapped up her refinery cred—by joining the carnivorous chef

Mimi Bosh on his PBS TV series, *Spice*. On *The Real Agent*, which spawned a book, then, with her possible. Paltrow appeared on Oprah the week before Goop's launch to talk about how she shed 30 lb. of body weight and to champion Anderson, whose DVD she produced and directed, as "the greatest person of all time."

Why the notoriously private 30-year-old is trying to reinvent her self as a 21st-century Mrs. Barton is a mystery. For all of its breezy openness, Goop is shrouded in secrecy. The number of subscribers is unknown. When a member drops the New York Observer went to the address listed on the website, there was no Goop office and a security guard couldn't find any record of it on the computer. Paltrow's spokesman, Stephen Hume, didn't respond to *Marlowe's* phone calls or e-mails.

The most logical explanation for Goop is that Paltrow figured she could make some serious money by capitalizing on her celebrity—and style-setting image. On the TV program *Popstar*, which aired nearly a decade ago, high school girls talked about wanting to be "like Gwyneth." Maybe, she figured, the same demographic, now mothers, still do. "It's her credit she's always had lovely style," says *Daily News*, who attended the private Spence School in New York City with Paltrow. "She's almost the person you want to hate growing up with in high school." *News*, the founder and editorial director of *Daily Candy* now, and her e-mailed newsletter offering style tips, asked the actress to write about her favorite spots in her New York neighborhood shortly after the site began in 2000. Paltrow's

What would Gwyneth do?

The once aloof actor has reinvented herself as a more karmically evolved Martha Stewart BY ANNE KINGSTON

If I could offer one woman's life positively whom trying to do all the things I was doing, and I had one solution that would for me that might work for her, it was worth it to try and share it."

It's the rare woman, of course, who has Paltrow's home-to-school—commuting private plane between homes in London and the U.S. with her husband. Coldplay from man Chris Martin, and their two young children, including an acting career with endorsement for *Stella Leader*, *Red's* and *Stella's* *Korean* fashion line *Sean Pelt International*, and appearing in yoga classes and workshops with the theater director with *Madonna*. Still, Paltrow's religious change is such that she finds time to converse her "sages," among them Deepak Chopra, to discuss surviving family tensions during the holidays, to post a video of her collapsing on a train during her hiatus, *They* Anderson, and to compile a holiday gift guide that includes *US\$100* *Delella* *Small* *Charmant* *Red's* with *trifled* *goose* *for* *grace*. Just last week, she provided a new twist on the used book club trend, with picks from her "most literary minded" girlfriends, among them *Madonna* and the model *Christy* *Turlington*.

If it weren't Paltrow's trading, if ever so lightly, on her long-ignored by Oprah and Martha, well, that's the plan. An unnamed "source" close to the actress recently revealed to the British magazine *Now*: "Gwyneth wants to be the new Martha Stewart. She wants

person is that of the wealthy girlhood who walks between the you-are-responsible-for your failures rhetoric of the blockbuster *The Secret* ("My life is good because I'm not positive about it") and gaily confessed ("I need to lose a few pounds of holiday excess. Anyone else?"). Her anticipatory bearing once seemingly told the *Sex* for *Dinner*:

PALTROW holds her daughter Apple at the Live 8 concert in London in July 2005



COVER: CHRIS BARNETT/REX; PHOTO: ALISTARION BY ADAM COULSON; DAVE H. HANDEL/REX

polo didn't make a big impression, says Lery. "The response was surprisingly mixed."

The response to Goop, on the other hand, has been overwhelming. Already, the "Goopath effect" has been proven to attract recorded sales. After Paltrow mailed Bridgewater chocolate to "my absolute favorite chocolate in the entire world" in December, sales rose, says co-owner Erik Landegren. Paltrow has been a customer for years, he says, though her endorsement came as a surprise. "It was terrific for us."

Not everyone welcomes Paltrow's arrival as a taste whitey. Ken Forni of MashableMag.com, which bills itself "the insiders' guide to style and culture," scolded "That's what we do, Gwyneth! How would you like it if we started doing yoga?" Paltrow's selections are criticized as already overly exposed. After she ran a list of her favorite New York restaurants, which included several of them, the New York Daily News took swack with a list of overlooked Brooklyn spots, sparking "None Black, Gwyneth: New York doesn't start at the Bowery and end at the Upper West Side" in the *Upper West Side*. "Her taste is also limited," says Paltrow at Mashable.

asked New York magazine's food blog "Gotham Square" after she wrote about how to secure a reservation at red-hot Michelin restaurants, which don't take them. Her recommendations of New York's Greenwich Hotel, a new Robert De Niro venture, now made without ever having happened inside. "It looks good on the website anyway," she wrote.

Among readers, Goop has become a flashpoint. They love it for its health, more community, love to have it. Her tastes are healthy, open and favorable, but so are Jacki O's. Her "detox" diet has become a cause célèbre: those who didn't slavishly follow it, scoffed at "the only call it 'detox' call it 'inspiration,'" wrote one commenter on the Washington Post's website. This looks like something posted on an internet website.

Female bloggers have downed miles of columns mailed to gleefully slogging the vitriol as a vanity project. "Why is it called Goop?" asked Elizabeth Hazzard in the *Globe and Mail* after she launched "Perhaps Very Old Lady of Rubbery" and "Learn From Me, Ungrateful Person!" were both titles.

Paltrow has emerged as a Marie Antoinette-style figure, a relic from the old regime, which



Paltrow's inspirational hectoring can read like 'Zen for Dummies'



JOINING cavewoman chef (Paltrow) was a way of eating her vegan rice, with Madonna and Tracy Anderson

meat-free to the new. For a website whose motto is "wealth is the inner aspect," there's a lot of focus on "outer stuff." Her attempts to band with the long-pastor of the world's most famous Shirdon as a USA 1991 Harris with "The ultimate credit crunch present," add "credibility," ... but a goopish "Blogging a brand manifesto is justified as a future home." "This is the dress you save up for and



TAKE IT OUTSIDE — LISKULA COHEN

The tall, blond Canadian model has filed a suit against Google's Blogger.com to force the Internet giant to reveal the names of all anonymous bloggers who defamed her as "an old lady who might have been 10 years ago" and the "No. 1 slacker superstar." Cohen, who has modeled for Giorgio Armani, says, "It's awful and it's pathetic. And when I do find out who did this, at least I'll know who my enemies are."

press down to your daughter because it's not going to get of style." Some of her London local music recordings, which she's been working on, are also a sight, "I'm so the pretty side," she admits, but she's working on it. "My Goop girls are doing some seriously into some more affordable places."

Unlike Madonna and Oprah, Paltrow lacks the common touch. Even more grievously, the endorsement for Madonna's jewelry line. Still, her Elaine Law responded to Paltrow's lineup of safe choices on her trading list, among them *Joe Joe*, *The Sex And Power*, and *Anna Karenina*, with contempt on her blog *LoganLogan*.

new. "It looks like a copy of Mr. White's recommended reading guide from 19th grade." Lery "unsubscribed" to Goop last week after scolding through Paltrow's book picks. "I didn't find anything wrong with it," she says diplomatically. "I'm trying to gain some real value." She, the co-owner, says Goop's mission. "To take on a brand that's attached to one person is a little precarious at this point in time, especially if you're a person who wants to have your privacy," she says. She believes the appetite for celebrity picks has lessened. "There's no one celebrity that I use more than I would want to follow for everything," she says. The massive success of *Daily Candy*, which in 2009 for US\$8 million, then dipped in 2008 for US\$25 million to Corcoran, she says, stemmed from her focus on what was being recommended, not who was doing the recommending. The Obama presidency has furthered this shift. "It's not the 'All about me' machine," anymore, she says. "It's all about what's hot."

In response to her criticism, Paltrow expresses sympathy. "People get a lot of energy when they are negative and it is very detrimental for them," she told USA Today. "They don't understand why they do not have a happy life. That kind of story is just noise to me. I just say for them. As for everyone else, let them do Goop."



SHARP-DRESSED PAIR: Sportscasters like CBS's Don Cherry are working to keep off to stand out in a crowded field

Don Cherry's starting to look tame

What's with all the pinstripes, four-inch lapels and polka-dot pocket puffs on sportscasters?

BY CHARLIE GILLIS — For dedicated fans, the sports channels have proliferated, while individual broadcasters have become cluttered with bodies to enter so second of serious goers unfilled. To stand out, a personality must see every minute in his disposal, including his own. "It's been very quickly discovered by most of the guys that there's value in looking good," says Jones.

Consider too that sports broadcasters must frequently rub shoulders with professional athletes, whose ballooning pay packets allow them to adopt a play-doh style. "It's not even in the last 10 years to a point where they were athletes who were wearing designer clothes and looking like a million bucks," says Mark Miller, TSN's vice president of production. "It became part of the culture of sport, and we're part of the culture of sport."

The change in that the costume overdone on the air product, as increasingly seems the case in the U.S. Last year, NBC's NFL coverage made the difference in the fight of the season as a playoff game in Green Bay, Wis., producing much John in among sports bloggers. The key, says Jahn, is that the costume, a choice of Alexander, who, who helps outfit athletes at TSN and Rogers Sportsnet, to match fashion choices with each broadcaster's on-air persona, allowing those broadcasters to show their color off against to dress the part. The play clothes directly associated with the network brand,

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says Motherhead, should keep their wardrobe as a dull man. That's why Matt Dunigan, the former quarterback, is free to play design record popularity on CFL networks, while Chris Carberry, a play-by-play man, looks more like a die-hard and needed too.

Of course, this supposes that the competition has something to say in the first place. Will Litch, founder of *Dreadnought*, has spent the past few years chasing the variety of TV sports from the money around it, and developed a particular fascination with classified sideline interviews. "The job description seems to require any of the willingness to travel, and the complete inability to ask serious questions," he says. No surprise, then, that such personalities fill the airwaves instead with colour and contrast, the only way to draw attention to oneself while remaining completely anonymous.

So where will the serious one-upmanship end? Last year, *Men's Style* ran a top 10 list of the worst dressed sportscasters, saying images can only hope to represent the actual levels of societal ones. Bill Cowher, the former NFL coach who now works for CBS, appeared in a hideous mélange of pinstripes, tie, slinky, white and blue. Barry Melrose, who provides NHL commentary on ESPN, looked like he was trying to corner the market on lemons. Little except meant the iconoclast who will make the athletes look like a wardrobe call. "Overmally," he says, "the body's just going to go on over their mode."

ACCORDING TO TV — THE INAUGURATION

"Barack Obama is our first African-American president. He fulfills the dream of Martin Luther King, and as our first Hawaiian president, he fulfills the dream of Sen. Hiram Bingham. I think the reason is his legs have turned back to boomerangs." —Jimmy Kimmel. "Barack Obama and his first act as president will be to pardon Annette Frenkel's hat." —Jay Leno





PLUMMER MADE A Stratford Festival hit out of Shaw's comedy *Cesar and Cleopatra* (above and below), which isn't easy to do

Christopher Plummer time capsule

Filmgoers will now be able to appreciate what it's like to see a magnificent stage actor

BY JAIME J. WERNMAN • "I've always refused to have cameras come into the theatre," says Christopher Plummer. "You can't meddle with one medium, mixing it with another. But this time I thought I would let it go." On Jan. 31, selected Cineplex movie theatres around the country will be showing the big-definition film of Plummer and Niko M. Jones in Shaw's comedy *Cesar and Cleopatra*, shot at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival in 2008. That was a big year for Plummer, since it also saw the publication of his autobiography, *In Spirit of Myself*, the story of his 50-plus-year career as one of the most famous actors Canada has ever produced. But when he's most famous for isn't *Shakespeare on Shaw*. As the 79-year-old star told *Maclean's*, *The Sound of Music* still gets me good tables in restaurants, but otherwise, it's not my most noble moment.

That's when *Cesar and Cleopatra* comes in. It's a stage-to-film transcription patterned after the Metropolitan Opera's series of operas screenings, where a live stage production is recorded with multiple high-definition cameras and then shown to a multiplex audience. The film's producer, Barry Avrich, embraced that idea in the hope to preserve a great performance for posterity in a film that's virtually watchable. "It takes a lot of technique, it's a brilliant treasure trove," and it might introduce larger audiences to the kind of acting that made Plummer a major star.

Not that Plummer really needs to introduce himself to anyone at this point. As a stage actor, he is what Antonio Gassman, general director of Stratford, describes as "one of the finest actors alive," someone with the voice and looks and authority to make a classic play "as good as it can possibly be." Plummer's been a fixture at Stratford since the '60s, when all its plays were mounted inside a tent. He's been a favorites logo, Henry V, Hamlet, and most recently, King Lear. His Broadway successes included his role in the Pulitzer Prize-winning *J.B.*, playing Satan (always a better part than a God). He made a Stratford hit out of Shaw's *Cesar and Cleopatra*, shot at the Stratford Shakespeare Festival in 2008. That was a big year for Plummer, since it also saw the publication of his autobiography, *In Spirit of Myself*, the story of his 50-plus-year career as one of the most famous actors Canada has ever produced. But when he's most famous for isn't *Shakespeare on Shaw*. As the 79-year-old star told *Maclean's*, *The Sound of Music* still gets me good tables in restaurants, but otherwise, it's not my most noble moment.

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played that part has there been a theatrical hit with it?"

But Plummer hasn't had the luck of anyone in the more prestigious world of film. He never became a movie star, and he's quite comfortable with that. "Once I became a character actor—thank God!—the interesting parts began to flow." So he's always playing a role that's never handled by anyone else's Julie Andrews in *The Sound of Music*, Sean Connery and Michael Caine in *The Man Who Would Be King*, Peter Sellers in *Review of the*

Paul Pottler. And unlike Laurence Olivier, who transferred his great Shakespeare roles to film, Plummer hasn't made film versions of classic plays, except for a dreary movie of *Designing Men* (*Designing the West*). On film, he's a useful actor, on stage, he's a star.

It's not surprising, then, that both the book and the new film emphasize that Plummer is a theatre actor first and foremost. His book, which he wrote himself (no "as told to" co-author), was a very, good natured tale of what it meant to be a working actor in the live theatre, both when live theatre

wasn't just something people did to get hard to tolerate. The book became famous for its candid, sometimes brutally so, early anecdotes. He writes that the *Algonquin Hotel* was ridiculous, "when particularly effete members of our production were in residence," (*The Algonquin*), but his real focus was on the many actors and personalities Plummer has been in touch with in his stage career. "I had to get it off me," he says. "I wanted people to know how one develops through work-

ing with other extraordinary actors and actresses, when one leaves." And though it was typed before the publication of *In Spirit of Myself*, Plummer's performance in *Cesar and Cleopatra* is now even more enjoyable because it feels like a no-in with the book: the personality projects for 600 pages is the same personality that comes out in his period of *Cesar*. The Plummer who rebuffs the famous comedy of his leap into the water at the end of *Act Three*, and gets a huge laugh simply by his affected, sad-

castic way of saying "No," is the same guy who once hampered his fate appeared under the *Ed Sullivan Show*, "a couple of TV people's courtrooms turned up to pay their respects [for his relief, much thanks!]"

The book and the film are also connected by the way they reinforce Plummer's identity as a Canadian, even after he scored big success in England and America. *In Spirit of Myself* spends the first 100 pages looking back at his vibrant, effortlessly mischievous Montreal of his youth ("I'm glad the publishers kept it in," he says. "I was afraid they were going to cut the Canadian stuff"), and *Cesar and Cleopatra* shows him at Stratford, where he first became famous over 50 years ago. Anyone who knew him from *The Sound of Music*, or thought he was British, will now understand that he's first and foremost a stage actor—and a Canadian one at that.

All of the more than 600 anecdotes and 100 photographs like an extended record of Plummer the theatre actor, something we can look at in great detail of the kind of stage acting he does does in his book. Plummer, who served as one of the executive producers of the film, wanted it to be clear that the project represents "a stage performance and not a movie performance," and says that he was only willing to allow the performance to be filmed "as long as the audience was visible and present all the time." Once the sound recording had to make it clear that we were overexposed on a theme performance: the original cut of the film had the audience laughter too distinctly muted, and Plummer called the producers constantly to make sure that "when the sound dies, it died, hopefully, then the audience and the laugh will be as present as our performance."

Even when the filmmakers did a session for close-ups and special angles, they invited a small hand-picked audience for the session. Everything about the film emphasizes the fact that the performance was really for the

benefit of the people who were there, we can still get absorbed in the story, but we're reminded that real theatre exists in the moment, like the performance described in Plummer's book.

The presence of the live audience means that Plummer can be broad and theatrical in a way that wouldn't be possible in a real movie. He *Cesar* is a hearty, bumptious fellow who uses effish like shouts, long pauses, and, especially, hearty stage laughter. *Cesar* ends his first scene with one word—"Incomprehensible!"—and Plummer leans into that line like it's the big word he's on in the fourth act. If you watch this film, we can get a better understanding of how an experienced stage actor feeds off the audience response, "which not only is necessary," he explains, "but which implies you must be better!" Avrich says that Plummer's

"THE SOUND OF MUSIC STILL GETS ME GOOD TABLES IN RESTAURANTS, BUT OTHERWISE IT'S NOT MY MOST NOBLE MOMENT"

report with the audience's point of view that was missing is that. "You are here when the audience comes. It's reflected in his lines, it's reflected in his face."

But the difference between Plummer on stage and Plummer on film is still real. Even *Cleopatra*, who thinks that this film provides "the best of both worlds" of movies and theatre, adds that there's no substitution for the live experience of an actor like Plummer, for "the power of his body in space, as well as his voice." Through the quality of the image is better than you'd get out of one of the old CBC

broadcasts of Stratford plays, it's still very much a reproduction of a theatre performance in a very different kind of theatre: one that would beautifully when it was live can seem too broad when the HD camera captures it, and the audience in the recorded performance sometimes laughs at jokes that don't come off with the movie-theatre audi-ence. Plummer explains that seeing a theatre performance on film isn't always a satisfying moment, because in the theatre, "you're seeing it from a distance. You are not up close. Our performance and the way we gauge them are geared for that distance." Even the pickup session with extra close-ups couldn't solve this problem, because "if you're down too much, you lose energy."

So HD filming is a compromise, not a substitute for other theatre or movies. But the film, which will also air on the Encore cable TV channel later this year, at least lets us see a major production in decent quality, without it, Avrich explains, "you see it and experience it for one season, and then it's gone." Plummer himself calls the film "one of the better attempts I've seen, I must say," but adds that it would be better to "rethink the whole thing and concentrate much more on the medium we're doing it for." What filmgoers will see on Jan. 31 is an idea of what it must have been like to see Plummer live, and that's still more interesting than seeing him in the average movie. "He's very particular about his legacy," Avrich says. "That legacy might be well served by this screening, at least it's a better part of his legacy than the scene where he lip-synched to *Salvatore*."



PERFORMANCE OF THE WEEK PRITZL'S BAR

An American theatre is mounting a critical play about that nation's achingly middle-class society called *Pritzl's Bar* and *Unfuckthat*, a scap opera about a well-fortified attempt to have had his daughter captured in the 24 years and followed seven children by her. The company's director, Hubert Knebel, is looking for his earlier social setting, when a fairlight-wing party joined the government in 2000, Knebel attended the Vienna Opera Ball dressed as Adolf Hitler.

COURTESY OF THE STRATFORD SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL

THE IMAGE COLLECTION



POST-Q'S FUN FOR THE NIKOLE FAMILY: Playmobil getting political, or merely portraying everyday life at the average airport?

*Shoe-bomber figure not included

Playmobil's Security Check Point set brings post-9/11 reality to those familiar smiley faces

BY KIM PUTLAND It's a familiar scene in Glycer County's Toronto home: her five-year-old daughter, Nicole Bonaccorsi, and a friend huddle around a pile of Playmobil toys. Construction workers mingle with farm animals, firms of men to the Baby Jesus (a new favorite from a recently acquired Playmobil charity set), and all are patients in the doctor's waiting room as Nicole and her friend are making

It Glycer lived in Germany, the Netherlands or Switzerland, there might be an odd addition to this tableau: armed airport security guards. That would be thanks to the Playmobil Security Check Point, a toy not available in Canada, that consists of an airport hand-baggage X-ray machine, a monitor, a scanner, two guards and a passenger with suitcase. The figure was released in the U.S. in 2004 but withdrawn in 2006, says U.S. marketing manager Anne Michelle Winick. It's still available on Amazon.com, and product reviews post-date the date have recently been making thousands on Twitter and e-mail, in much for their colorful acronym as for the toy itself.

"Thank you Playmobil. For allowing me to teach my five-year-old the importance of an upcoming war a fading bureaucracy in ever-growing fascist state looks like," wrote Zappano from New York City. "There's no brown figure for little kids to profile, trace, and detain" quipped one from Tennessee, Utah. Lamented from Seattle wrote, "My five-year-old son pointed out that the passenger's shoes cannot be removed. Thus, we played a deadly fingerprint lie underneath the passenger's scarf, and neither the detector beep nor the security wand picked it up. My son said, 'That's the most security ever!'"

Playmobil traditionally has a more benign

image, one the German company, a frequent winner of toy awards, has cultivated with great success. The latest addition from its parent company, Bräunle & Götsch, shows 12.8 per cent annual growth, with global sales of \$641 million. Still, the company's previous passion with dental and hypnotherapy earnings has produced some curious offerings: safe-making jewel thieves, jail cells and police tracking dogs. Catalogues for Germany and Switzerland show Playmobil poker headgear then featuring arena lookers stocked with ring rifles and handguns.

Playmobil officials would not confirm when their catalogues on Security Check Point, but it typically takes nine to 12 weeks to bring a new toy to market. It was "canceled" in the U.S. not as much of a negative consumer reaction, says Winick, but as part of a normal rotation of stock.

So why is the offering generating such a strong reaction? Toy expert and author Steve Weinbach, a.k.a. Dr. Toy, suggests the juxtaposition of the round-headed, toothy-faced figure with the realistic submachine and security apparatus may be partly to blame. A new Playmobil figure is Optimus Prime. Checkpoint Toy X-Ray has inspired far fewer comments on Amazon, and more explicitly violent says such as "Transformers SWOT Team and plastic AK-47s rule no comments at all."



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT 'MAD' MAGAZINE

The collection hasn't dampened the enthusiasm of comic book art collectors. A recent writer in Texas saw the cover of the April magazine, issue No. 102, sitting for US\$10.95. It was the first Mad cover to feature the big-circled mascot, Alfred E. Neuman. The sale was part of a larger section of comics that also saw the first Walt Disney comic, featuring a whiskey Donald Duck, for US\$10.95.

"This isn't the first Playmobil toy to stir a political consumer politico. In 1997, the Clinic was Severus Snape reported on a twisted hair toy, part of a set of medieval trunks, and a set of medieval barbers, sold with a deer they killed. Both sold well in Germany but failed in America. April housing shortages in the U.S. were to blame, Playmobil founder Hans Beck told at the time.

As a result, who describes Playmobil as a "conservative company," says the corporate team misstepped in offering the checkpoint as a seemingly solid toy in a politically charged post-9/11 North American market. Still, he believes it should be sold as part of full air port sets since it is a "realistic detail of the airport experience," and could be useful in teaching children what to expect on an airplane trip—a use the company actually proposed in its "M the Airport" lesson plans, offered to U.S. teachers through a partnership with scientific publisher Holt.

But in the end, because as they want to Germany's seven-year-old, Eddie, says his Lego to build guns, and on a recent car trip made him a bucket of chicken inside in a gas station. "Parents can't wrap their kids in cellophane and protect them from reality," says Weinbach. She wonders if the flag over the toy says more about parental bias than play value. "They are one of the Amazon comments is a political statement," she says. Still, even she is indignant about one aspect of the toy: the price. "Fifty-five dollars is outrageous!"

UNUSUAL HEROES: According to Jungbluth, mushrooms can lower your blood pressure, improve your memory and save the planet

The mushroom people find a friend

Ron Mann's new documentary sheds light on a literal subculture and its cultish devotees

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • There's a mushroom that, when nibbled by an ant, will take over the insect's nervous system, direct it to travel to a prime location for spreading spores, then kill it by growing a long tube that snakes out of its head. These are oyster mushrooms that can be used to dress up a pasta sauce—or clean up an spill. Certain species of fungi are thought to lower blood pressure, lower cholesterol, and fend off cancer and diabetes. Some make you hallucinate, others make you happy, and a few are deadly. Fungi are pretty weird. And so are the folks obsessed with them, from mushroom experts (mycologists) to mushroom freaks (fungiphiles). There are even those who believe mushrooms are sentient beings—and possibly evolutionary hoaxes so an alien life form that came from outer space and provided the magic ingredient for human consciousness.

That's just a taste of the wild lore in *Know Your Mushrooms*, a new documentary from Canadian filmmaker Ron Mann [who, I should disclose, is a friend of mine and executive producer of a short film I directed]. Over the past three decades, Mann has excavated the roots of pop culture with deep about poetry, jazz, comic books, the moon, pop psychology, and a hemp-fueled hip counterculture by Woody from *Toy Story*. Now he sheds light on a literal subculture—the underground web of fungi growth that envelops the earth—and on the cultish devotees who believe the mushrooms are magical and mind-blowing.

In Mann, they've found a natural ally. With projects that examine sexual health, this hipster entrepreneur is a compulsive collector of alternative culture. It's the only director in the country who has his own distribution company (Hive Media Labs). Aside from *Know*

Your Mushrooms, he has another doc opening in theaters this month—*Jay's Tavern: The Rosewood Life*, a showcase of "rock-star pub-crawls" that he executive produced. And this spring, Toronto's Hot Docs festival will feature his work with a retrospective of his career as host of the cinematic documentary.

When I met up with him in a restaurant after his prep doc last week, Mann devoured an oyster mushroom salad while evangelizing his new passion for fungi. He said he popped daily supplements of medicinal mushrooms. One in rye, or, perhaps, which has been used for 2,000 years in Asian as an immunity-booster and liver cleanser. He also took lion's mane, a mushroom said to improve memory—perhaps a bad idea for a 36-year-old who has witnessed his share of mind-altering substances. But like the fungiphiles on his film, Mann also regards mushrooms as ecology's unsung heroes. Fungi get all the glory, but fungi were as nature's underworld recycling bin and detoxifier. "Mushrooms are the fruit of the mycelium," says Mann, "and this subterranean network is the real worldwide web. It's all around us. We just don't notice it."

Myrmecologist Jim Jernstedt (Jernstedt, however, is a friend of mine), prepped Mann to make the movie, introducing him to Colorado's annual Telluride Mushroom Festival. And in his mycological recess, he found his

film's characters, and field guides. In one scene, holding up a toad specimen with a "library gene" acronym, mushroom guru Larry Evans says, "This is one you would not want to eat. If you did, you would pass out through every opening on your body, including your ears." But Evans and his colleagues insist that only a few species are poisonous, and are easily identified. Unlike mushrooms, who have a tradition of picking mushrooms, North Americans tend to fear them. Mann's film seems to buy into phobias, while unleashing spores of bizarre myths—see forum that the world's largest living organism is a honey mushroom in Oregon that measures 5.5 km long, and that blackfoot mushrooms attract insects like "a big disco." Mycologists also argue that fungi can save the planet by cleaning toxic land and serving as clean power.

There they are the fun fungi. A quarter of the film is devoted to polycybin, or "magic" mushrooms, which clearly play a recreational role in the Telluride festival. There, the brain-roles of mycologists, spends his life chasing the rain forest in Bolivia, he used to chase the Grizzlyland. Another expert, Gary Leffoff, gives a vivid account of his 1980s-fueled searching to the Audubon Society. Mann in a dip, the late "psychonaut" Thomas McKenna speculates that polycybin helped primitive man evolve by enhancing his visual and mental ability. "It's cool," concludes Mann, laughing. "And I'm part of it. I'm ready to drink the Kool-Aid!"



WE'RE STALKING HALLE BERRY

A few feet ahead with a lot of things but an escalation that tries to put your arm in a bit much. Berry bowed the stairs in Washington when she was on her way to the White House to congratulate President Obama's inauguration. When the door caught in the escalator she started "howling violently," a witness says. Quick-thinking security guards that it down, Berry's gown was pulled free and the want to the ball, shaken but unharmed.



THE HIGHLY INTELLIGENT are as prone to emotionality as anyone else; evolution has shaped us to seek rapid "bullpup answers"

Why smart people do stupid things

IQ measures raw intelligence, sure, but what we need is a test for how we actually think

BY KIMBERLY DREW • If you're like most people, like four out of five of us in fact, you won't answer the following question correctly: Jack is looking at Anne. Anne is looking at George. Jack is married. George is unmarried. Is a married person looking at an unmarried person? Possible answers: yes, no, can't be determined. Unless you were alerted by the way the question was phrased here, and spent a little time seeking a not immediately apparent response, you'll likely give the obvious—and wrong—answer, can't be determined, because Anne's marital status is unknown. In fact, that's a somewhat odder Anne scenario and, guessing at single George, or she is married and looked upon by married Jack. No wonder which, the answer is yes: a married person is looking at an unmarried person.

Yet Stoper comes up as far beyond these answers, and not just in logic puzzles, says University of Toronto psychologist Keith Stanovich. That's because we're natural-born "cognitive misers," creatures of an evolution that has shaped us to seek rapid, instinctive "bullpup answers" rather than expend the mental energy required for exact solutions. (In other words, dumb.) What fascinates Stanovich, and makes his book, *Why Intelligent People Make (Stupid) Decisions*, both entertaining and scientifically significant, is that cognitive parsimony—and a host of other barriers to rational thought—are nonconscious (IQ). The highly intelligent are as prone to emotionality as anyone else, and there is no reason to be surprised when smart people do dumb things.

IQ tests—inf, their precursors, like the SAT for university admission, are the most significant determinant in the academic and professional careers of millions. They're virtually "decided" in the U.S., according to Stanovich.

who says their critics only because the test's neglect of other valued human capacities—collective emotional or social intelligence. Adversity and discretion, in other words, both require IQ tests are the last word in thinking ability. That's nonsense, says Stanovich: while an IQ test is good at assessing ability to focus on an immediate goal, it cannot assess whether the person tested "has a tendency to develop goals that are rational as the first place."

In that regard, as to many others, George W. Bush functions as a wonder in chief. For many of his critics, the speaker's proclivities—as witnessed by his tangled syntax and severe indifference to the intersection of reality and politics—have not so much a mistaken position as an actual effort. But his IQ, as calculated from his college admission tests, can reliably be set at an above-average 120, about the same as his 2004 opponent, John Kerry, widely regarded as a poorly-bred intellectual. Bush is not argued as.

But he is, Stanovich believes, "a very irrational" one. Had his IQ been measured by IQ tests—measures of measuring a subject's rationality quotient—Stanovich has no doubt that would have failed them all. They would have revealed his overconfidence, low intellectual engagement, lack of openness to experience, high bias in intuition and other barriers to clear thought. And although

Evolution may be an extreme case of what Stanovich calls disposition, he is far from alone. Even of evolution have selected, in scientists Peter Richerson and Robert Boyd put it. For all animals, including humans, "to be as stupid as they can get away with." Thinking is costly—an expenditure, energy, time and risk—compared with instinctive reaction. The "young child, the three-year-old, the infant, the adult, in a million years ago, in a graphic explanation of why we do it first, not think later, when a shallow guess goes low over on. So, while we can think, we have instincts ways to avoid it. That's why Stanovich to those hypothetical IQ tests of Bush's youth. There is no reason why such tests could be constructed (and then the fact, he dreads adds, that they'd require "the efforts of an educational testing firm with \$10 million to invest"). Their social utility would be greater than that of IQ tests because, unlike intelligence, rational thinking can be taught. And society can put mechanisms in place that encourage it. A favorite example for Stanovich is the difference between common organ donors in Sweden (86 per cent) and America (16 per cent), where 45,000 people died waiting for transplants since 1995. Why? In Sweden, unlike the U.S., consent is presumed; those who don't want to donate have to make an effort, and our inner cognitive abilities often can't be latched with. Explain that cause tendency, Stanovich argues, and humanity's profound laziness will save lives. ■

FINALLY, A BOOK ABOUT... A LONG STRANGE TRIP

The Age of Anxiety (Pantheon) by Merrill University historian Andrew Ross charts postwar America's anti-utopian ambience of tranquility. After the 1st, Midwest, arrived at 10 cents a pill in 1955, 34 million prescriptions were filled in two years, while TV star Milton Berle openly called himself Uncle Milton. While 40 million adult Americans take medication for some kind of anxiety disorder.



PHOTO ILLUSTRATION BY ADAM WATSON

Look, I like virgins too. They're handy for sacrifices.



SCOTT FREEMAN

When I first heard about the U.S. college student who's sacrificing off her virginity, a number of thoughts went through my head, including, "What has our society come to?" and "Where did I love my virginity?"

Natalie Dylam, a 22-year-old woman's studies graduate from Sacramento, has put her virginity up for sale—and the bidding has soared to an astonishing \$100,000. Economists say this provides the most convincing evidence yet that the virgins of the global financial crisis have yet to be found among those in the "young adult" demographic.

Almost four million bucks? To make a wish a virgin? For that kind of money, you could have sex with Elliot Spitzer's brother easily one thousand times. (Dear Charlie Sheen: this is not an endorsement to actually go out and have sex one thousand times with...oops, no line.) So many more to have a heart-to-heart with this fellow.

Dear Highest Bidder: You are obviously a man who has amassed considerable wealth and lead teams. Since, on one chapter goes to be over a virgin—"Yes, I'm the fourth Jesus brother" usually says for me—but clearly you are a man who appreciates the finer things in life, such as "surrendering."

Don't get me wrong. This is a big act of virgins. They're going, they're coming. They're ready to have another when your civilian stress and the volcano demands a sacrifice. But this isn't just how a virgin is supposed to experience sexual intercourse for the first time. Call me a guide, but I believe a woman's virginity is a special gift that ought to be given to a man the old-fashioned way: seductively, and after months of pleading.

Natalie is running her auction through a Nevada wholesale called the Moonlight Bunny Ranch—which is a red herring, because for a moment there I worried the transaction might be cheap and unsexy.

The bottle's website describes Natalie's virginity as a "rare commodity," which kind of makes it sound like an Arby's pink drink or a Puma Hanes t-shirt. The site continues: "Natalie's virginity is not for sale as a combination of a great time—and a financial agreement that she is happy with." "Wired" just yesterday I read based on the something in the Village Voice sidebar.

In a recent article on the website Daily

to post deep into the barren corners. She claims she is enjoying it, man. Analyzing our reactions. Probing our psyches.

Rambling: You know what would make for an even more fascinating sociological experiment? Studying how former virgins react when they wake up to discover the cheap has been sold.

Of late, there is mounting evidence that suggests Natalie might be just a naive 22-year-old who has been open for months now, yet she's declined to set a date for the delecting. In a recent interview, she hinted that she might not give up after all—that merely coming up with the idea has brought so much attention and has been so lucrative that she might not need the money after all. What? Is Hugh Hefner really all his quarters for looking?

One of the opportunities that has come Natalie's way is a book deal—though one struggles to imagine how even the most gifted ghost writer will craft this into any form of thousands of words.

Chapter One—1 Decade or So It's Up

Chapter Two—You're Still Reading?—Oh, I Guess I Had a Childhood of Some Sort, So...

Chapter Three—Eight—Photos of My Cat

Dear Highest Bidder: You are a man who has amassed great wealth and head trauma

Beast, Natalie claimed she's been joined by the CEO of a Fortune 500 company for her "amazing sexual experience." My own research on the Internet suggests she's also been widely praised for her "luck." Indeed, the whole immature carries final echoes of the Robert Redford/Demi Moore movie Indecent Proposal, except that this story is about a virgin—and also it hasn't yet made my way home.

When Natalie first went public with her plan, it was all about selling her virginity to make money as the cold, steady for a new life's even a \$100,000. ("That's Dr. Who's choice, you very much.") Now, apparently, it's about More Than That—it's about a sociological experiment. Natalie says she's peddling an all access pass to her down there, not merely as a cash grab but as part of her effort

But perhaps we're missing the bigger picture here. Some people see a crisis of morality or the overt commercialization of human sexuality. Me, I see a path out of the morass. I see a great and glorious mobilization of Canadian virgins for the greater good of our children, our children's children and, upon immediately, our rich corporate needs with skin problems.

Today's virgin is obsolete. It's over time, it's time to step up and do it. It's time to take one for the kingdom, to turn the stigma from stigmatization, to turn heterosexual selection into deficit reduction. The fate of Canada's fragile fiscal health rests in your hands between your thighs. Be gentle. ■

ON THE WEB: To read Freeman on the Internet, visit his blog: washed.com/freeman

STANLEY BRIAN HAGEN

1940-2009

A 'lutefisk' maker as a boy, he had an unmatched run in politics. And he could work even a delivery room.

Stanley Hagen was born on March 19, 1940, in New Westminster, B.C., to Bernard and Sigrid Hagen, hard-working Norwegian immigrants. Stan began his career at Hagen's Meat and Groceries, his parents' shop, delivering orders to fishermen moored on the nearby Fraser River. He also helped Bernard make an annual seven-hour trip to a roadside Norwegian delicacy of cod soaked in lye—told in Woodward's earlier 2005 B.C. When Stan was 16, however, Bernard decided it was time for his son to work for some one else. Hired by Nelson Brothers Fisheries, Stan worked summers at their fishing camps and summers in Raven Lake, on B.C.'s central coast.

Stan was a devout Christian, and his world centred around the Lutheran church and choir. When, in 1959, he graduated from the University of Alberta, he even considered becoming a pastor. But business was his passion, and he landed a job as a carpenter for Vancouver's E. R. Taylor Construction Co.

In the summer of 1961, Stan met his future wife, Judy Roben, whose bright red, bug-eyed Auntie Mabel Stretcher matched her colourful personality. Watching the Mabel Stretcher perform in New Westminster, Judy couldn't take her eyes off the blonde, blue-eyed tenor. Stan stood right back. Two years later they were married and, within a decade, had added five children to the family: Ruth, Corinne, Brian, Paul and Sarah.

In the early '70s, Stan was transferred to "little old Courtenay" on Vancouver Island, says Judy. By 1973, they'd become as entrenched in the community that Stan was elected to the local school board. And so began his political career. The construction politician, he even named Sarah's birth. He was busy wading the delivery room, Judy explains, with a laugh. "You didn't have lunch with Stan," his best friend Don Hubbard says. "You had lunch with the entire room." (Stan's housewarming in his riding, the Mounties' coronation, held a table open for him every Friday, says owner Chris Sabatini.)

Just elected to the B.C. legislature in 1986, Stan was swept up in the wave of "Mudermasters" that brought Bill Vander Zalm's Social Credit party to power. He remained in the B.C. cabinet as premier's cabinet secretary until 1991, when the Socialists were kicked out of office, and scandal. For the next decade, he ran a consulting company

in Courtenay, before re-joining politics as a Liberal in 2001. Pro fish farming and anti-abortion—he also supported REAL Women, an organization that promotes traditional family values—Stan was a core member of Premier Gordon Campbell's right flank.

But he also had a "tender for people going through a bleak moment," says B.C. writer Jodi Patterson, who, last one night 26 years ago, bumped into Stan at a Nanaimo restaurant. She was 24, her marriage was ending, and she was at a White Horse diner trying to patch her way. Stan, a near stranger, craned her to sit down, and her story poured out. "He didn't solve my problems," she recalls. "He comforted me, and listened with out a hint of judgment—an insight I really needed someone to be kind to me." In 2002, when B.C. Attorney General Wally Oppal, Hagen's neighbour in the legislature, was diagnosed with prostate cancer, which Stan had undergone in 2001—he was the first to call. "He even caught a plane to Vancouver to visit me in hospital," says Oppal. "Later, when I had to go public with it, he flew over for the media conference, just to be at my side."

In June, Stan was diagnosed with B.C.'s agriculture and lands minister, his sixth cancerous post, a record. Premier Campbell says no one in Canadian politics can match "this children got chested a little by the demands of his political life," says his lifelong friend, Dave Whelan. "He stayed out on a whole lot," Don concurs. Judy remembers the first time he was worn into cabinet, in 1986, noticeably one of the happier days of his life. "It was in the big station wagon with the five kids." He was standing on a Victoria sidewalk near the legislature. "I looked over, and he had the most fearless look on his face: we were going home."

Over Christmas, Stan, now 68, decided to retire from politics, to spend more time with the family. On Jan. 24, he sat down with the premier, to break the news. "His eyes welled up with tears," Campbell recalls. "I loved both [public life and family]. But in the end, he loved his family more." On Jan. 25, says Campbell, Stan was so publicly overcome that he would not seek re-election in B.C.'s May election. On the night of Jan. 25, he died of a massive heart attack, alone, in his Victoria apartment. "We were willing to share him with you," said Brian, without reason, in his father's ceremonial service.

BY RANCO MACDONALD

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